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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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24 April 1985

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ROMANIANS REVIEW LAWS ON INVENTIONS IN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian No 4, 25 Jan 85 pp 10, 11

[Article by Bucharest Law Faculty Assistant Lecturer Lucian Mihai: "The Innovation as Treated in the Laws of Socialist Countries"]

[Text] A distinct set of regulations concerning technical improvements is, in general, peculiar to socialist law. Historically, the first legal regulations concerning not only inventions but technical improvements which could be characterized as innovations, were in the Soviet statute concerning inventions and technical improvements of 9 April 1931.<sup>1</sup> Since then, at different times and with different specific content, almost all socialist countries have passed similar juridical regulations concerning diverse forms of technical improvements other than inventions.

This is not the case in capitalist countries where no such detailed regulations exist in this domain. The rights and obligations of authors of technical improvements are subject to civil legislation and workplace regulations as well as to stipulations in signed contracts.<sup>2</sup>

The same system is also encountered today in developing countries, although there are trends toward legal controls on technical improvements classed as innovations. For example, Egypt issued Decree No 3 of 9 February 1976 regarding the establishment of an agency for developing innovations and inventions<sup>3</sup> and the draft law concerning inventions for developing countries drawn up in 1965 under the auspices of the Combined International Bureaus for the Protection of Intellectual Properties (BIRPI), in its 1980 revision, made reference to innovative technical improvements.

To our knowledge, currently there are laws governing technical improvements classed as innovations in the following socialist states (in order of their enactment): Bulgaria,<sup>4</sup> Albania,<sup>5</sup> the German Democratic Republic,<sup>6</sup> Poland,<sup>7</sup> Czechoslovakia,<sup>8</sup> USSR,<sup>9</sup> Romania,<sup>10</sup> Hungary,<sup>11</sup> the Democratic People's Republic of Korea,<sup>12</sup> Vietnam,<sup>13</sup> and Yugoslavia.<sup>14</sup>

The respective laws use different terminology to describe the innovations they regulate: "rationalization proposal" in Bulgaria, Poland and the USSR; "rationalization" in Albania; "innovation" in the GDR, Hungary, D.P.R. Korea and Vietnam; "improvement proposal" in Czechoslovakia and "technical improvement"

in Yugoslavia. Indeed, it is not just a question of differences in wording but also in content, because in addition to technical improvements classed as innovations there are also laws governing the methods of organization, exactly as in our former laws<sup>15</sup> (this is also true, for example, in the laws of Albania, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Poland, Hungary and Vietnam.)

In the discussion that follows, we will refer only to technical improvements classed as innovations.

Regarding the basic conditions of the object of regulation,<sup>16</sup> we note the fact that--as opposed to Romanian law--in all other legislation, innovation is not determined at the national level but at the enterprise level. In order to qualify an industrial intellectual creation as a technical innovation, the laws of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and the USSR also introduce a subjective criterion: they do not consider inventions that result from fulfilling the duties of one's job, that is those belong to persons who, as a result of their professional positions (researchers, project designers etc.), have, at that time, the responsibility to produce such inventions.<sup>17</sup>

As a matter of form, the fact that innovation is determined at the enterprise level leads to the proposals being registered at the enterprise and the enterprise examining the basic conditions (Article 70 in Romanian law confers this power to the ministry or other central organization). In some cases, the author is allowed to address his petition for registration only to his own enterprise (the case, for example, in Czechoslovakia or Yugoslavia); in other cases, however, the registration can be made at any enterprise (for example, in the GDR or in the Soviet Union); (by comparison, Article 66 in Romanian law prescribes that the petition be registered at the socialist organization in which the author is enrolled or to which he can apply.) Nevertheless, the enterprise is the one which issues the due title for the technical improvement, in other words, a certificate of innovation (rationalization etc.)<sup>18</sup> which--in general--has the following functions: a) classifies the proposal as a technical improvement; b) recognizes the preeminence of the author; c) recognizes his capacity as author; d) entitles him to receive moral or material compensation.

As is the case with Romanian law, no legislation recognizes *expressis verbis* a right of use for this invention, either for the author or the enterprise. However, Hungarian law, by expressly allowing a transmission of the right of use, implicitly recognizes that right.

Even less, the exclusivity of use as an essential feature of industrial ownership is found nowhere in any law (the same in Romanian law) nevertheless there is an interesting nuance in Section II of Hungarian law according to which a proposal for an innovation produced in one workplace can be turned over to an enterprise other than the one where the author is employed only with the approval of the former enterprise and that enterprise can refuse approval if the use of the innovation by the other enterprise "is detrimental to the important interests of the enterprise" where the author is employed.<sup>19</sup>

Regarding the right granted the author of a technical improvement classified as an innovation, these are both personal-nonremunerative (granting of honorific

titles, orders and medals etc.)<sup>20</sup> (as in Article 68 of Romanian law) as well as patrimonial, particularly the right to remuneration, in every case without stipulating the importance of the innovation. (We should point out that Article 73, paragraph 1 of Romanian law conditions the granting of cash awards--equal to a sum not greater than three times the monthly pay of the author--based on the "extraordinary economic or social importance" of the innovation.) Sometimes the size of the remuneration is established by a contract between the author and the enterprise (in Yugoslavia and Hungary; in the latter country however, the sum--although in principle established by contract--cannot exceed a certain limit set by the savings realized in a single year's use of the innovation.) More often however, the remuneration is determined as a function of the savings realized by using the innovation, yet without exceeding a certain, expressly determined, maximum limit. Of course, these limits are much smaller than those established for inventions.<sup>21</sup> The obligation to pay the cash bonus belongs to the enterprise using the innovation. In cases where the innovation is used by a number of enterprises, some legislation sees the obligation--from an analytical point of view--as belonging to all the users. For example, in the GDR and Poland, every other enterprise using the technical improvement is obligated to pay 30 percent of the remuneration which they would have had to pay had the improvement been one which they had used first.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See S. Pretar, "Inventor's Certificates, Rationalization Proposals and Discoveries--chapter 6 of Vol XIV ("Copyright and Industrial Property") from "The International Encyclopedia of Comparative Law", J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tuebingen and Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, The Hague, Boston, London, 1983, p 146.
2. Ibid.
3. See the text in the journal LA PROPIETE INDUSTRIELLE, (abbreviated as P.I. below) No 12/1976.
4. The law governing inventions and rationalizations of 8 October 1968 (published in P.I. No 3/1971).
5. Ordinance No 4548 of 3 October 1969 regarding inventions and rationalizations.
6. The regulation governing innovations of 22 December 1971.
7. The law governing inventive activity of 19 October 1972.
8. Law No 84 of 1 November 1972 concerning discoveries, inventions, rationalization proposals and industrial designs.
9. Ordinance governing discoveries, inventions, and rationalization proposals promulgated in Council of Ministers Decree No 584 of 21 August 1973 and modified by Decree No 1078 of 28 December 1978 (published in P.I. No 9/1979).
10. Law No 62 of 30 October 1974 concerning inventions and innovations.

11. Council of Ministers Regulation No 38 of 30 October 1974 regarding innovations, modified by Decree No 70/1981 (published in P.I. No 10/1982).
12. Law of 27 December 1978 regarding inventions and innovations (published in P.I. No 3 and 4/1981).
13. Ordinance regarding innovations and inventions promulgated by Governmental Decree No 31 CP of 23 January 1981 (published in P.I. No 9/1982).
14. Law of 9 June 1981 regarding inventions, technical improvements and trademarks (published in P.I. No 9/1982).
15. In our country, the first detailed regulation was established in the regulation governing innovations, approved by Council of Ministers Decision No 2267/1953 in which the term "innovation" was used to describe three different categories of proposals: technical improvements, rationalizations in production and administrative rationalizations--all characterized by relative innovativeness in relation to the technical level at the enterprise where they were proposed for use. Later, in Decree No 884/1967 concerning inventions, innovations and rationalization, "innovations" was used to describe a category of proposals which have greater importance than "rationalizations," the degree of innovativeness being determined by the same criteria as found in the 1953 regulation.
16. For the analysis of Romanian legislation on this aspect, see L. Mihai, "Inovatie--conditii de fond ale obiectului reglementarii" [Innovation--Basic Conditions of the Object of Regulation] in the supplement to REVISTA ECONOMICA No 48/1984, p 9, 10.
17. See Y. Eminescu "La protection des inventions dans les pays socialistes europeens" [The Protection of Inventions in European Socialist Countries], Ed. Academiei, Bucharest, "Librairie Generale de Droit et de Jurisprudence," Paris, 1977, p 74; S. Pretnar, op. cit., p 50.
18. By exception, in Yugoslavia, no document similar to this is issued. According to Romanian law, the certificate of innovation is issued by the ministry or central organization to which the socialist organization where the petition was registered is subordinate.
19. Hungarian regulation places the innovation in the area of trade secrets and consequently links them to the exclusive rights conferred on state enterprises for the authors' certificates which serve as an instrument in socialist competition. (S. Pretnar, loc. cit.).
20. According to Article 136 of the Soviet normative act mentioned, the author of a scientific discovery or of an invention is recognized as having the right to petition the State Committee for Inventions and Discoveries that the discovery or invention be identified by his name (or a special title); however, this right is not reserved for an innovator.

21. For example, in the USSR, the maximum limit for innovations is 5000 rubles (about \$7010), whereas for inventions, the limit is 20,000 rubles (about \$28,040); while in the German Democratic Republic it is 30,000 marks (about \$2727) compared with 200,000 marks (about \$18,182). (This data is taken from S. Pretar, op. cit., p 51 and is based on exchange rates at the time of the publication of that work--1983.)

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BELGRADE 'CHAUVINISTIC FEVERS' RAPPEL

AU021105 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 2 Apr 85

["Slav Chauvinistic Fevers in Belgrade--Replication for an article of  
VECERNJE NOVOSTI--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 2 Apr (ATA)---The great Serb nationalism has begun to sing the old liturgies of pan Slavism and to sing praises to the marches of the medieval Slav princes to the Balkans. The scientist of "Matica" of Belgrade, Nis, Skopje, etc., with an unprecedented zeal are trying to prove that not only the terrorists situated between the Black Sea, Aegean and Adriatic once belonged to the Serb rulers, but even the peoples themselves who live in these territories at present are of Slav origin. According to their "science," a large part of the present population of Greece, Albania, Bulgarian, even of Italy, today too is Slav in language and traditions, costumes and spirit.

We heard such preaching these days from the newspaper VECERNJE NOVOSTI, which together with POLITIKA and NIN is the spokesman of Serb ultra chauvinistic clan and the greatest trumpeter of the anti-Albanian policy of Belgrade. It has allegedly invented that one out of five inhabitants of Albania is not Albanian. It does not tell how it has done this "invention" and on what ground it relies. But reality and the truth is not to the liking of those who lie, insinuate and provoke, as VECERNJE NOVOSTI does. What is to their interest is to cherish the chauvinistic passions in their country and to arouse hatred for the neighbouring peoples.

But in Albania the provocative aims of the great-Serbs do not hold water. Regarding the accounts they have with the great-Bulgarians and others let them settle themselves. The parallellisms they want to make are false, they are vile and ill-intended concoctions. We have not concealed the exact number of the Albanian nationals of foreign nationality. On the basis of the last census in 1979 in Albania there are 54,687 people of foreign nationality or equal to 2.1 percent of the total number of the population. Of them, 49,307 are Greeks and 4,163 are Slavs. All these are equal citizens of our republic and enjoy the same rights that their Albanian brothers enjoy. Furthermore, by constitution it is sanctioned the learning of mother tongue, the cultivation of their cultural traditions, preservation of their national identity.

In the zone of the Greek minority, in the districts of Gjirokaster and Saranda all the children of the parents of Greek nationality take lessons in the mother

tongue, in Greek. There is a special branch in the Pedagogical Institute of Gjirokaster which trains teachers for the schools of the minority. A newspaper appears in the Greek language in Gjirokaster. The minority writers, without mentioning here the translations, publish their creations in the mother tongue.

In the villages of Prespe where people speak Macedonian the children learn how to read and write in school in their mother tongue. This has been eye-witnessed also by the former prime minister of Macedonia, V. Popov, this is common knowledge also in Belgrade and Skopje, but they want to deny this in order to realize the anti-Albanian aims. It is their own affairs the rights that the Albanian citizens of foreign nationality enjoy have been granted to them not to please this one or that one, but because the national question in our country has been solved correctly, because the Marxist-Leninist principles have been loyally applied because chauvinism and national hatred have been and are alien to us.

VEČERNJE NOVOSTI has made another "discovery." We don't know to what extent its readers believe it, but what it tells them that in Albania the names of the people are allegedly replaced with "revolutionary" names is an utter concoction.

No one has been changed his name [as received] and there is no reason to do this. Only those who have had despicable and contemptible surnames have been allowed to change them. But this has nothing to do with their national identity.

Lastly we would like to add one or two words. The slanders and distortions of Belgrade are vulgar and deserve no reply. But the special zeal they in Belgrade display in dealing with the ethnology and demography of the neighbouring countries is rather significant. It expresses the renewal of those great Serb chauvinistic expansionist claims from which the peoples of Balkans have not suffered little in the past.

CSO: 2020/101

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ATA CITES SFRY OFFICIAL ON LOWER INCOMES

AU051207 Tirana ATA in English 0920 GMT 5 Apr 85

[Text] Tirana, 5 Apr (ATA)--As TANJUG reports, referring to the statements made by a top Yugoslav official, the continuous fall of the real personal incomes is consequence of the grave economic situation of Yugoslavia. The chairman of the Yugoslav committee for social activities, Borislav Sefer admitted that the real incomes have fallen as a result of the policy that aimed "to lower the real limits of the swollen consumption in Yugoslavia in the 70's, when it was easier to live on the foreign aid and credits." Mentioning the official statistics, he said that 40-45 percent of the families in Yugoslavia have monthly incomes lower than the necessary minimum for living. According to him, the social differentiations in Yugoslavia are becoming deeper and the dissatisfaction of the workers is becoming greater.

The said official described the actual economic policy of Yugoslavia as the main cause that has brought about the lowering of the standard of living. He admitted that the program for the economic stabilization, approved three years ago, is not implemented and that the economic policy did not revive the economic activity.

CSO: 2020/101

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

KAPILLANI, AJAZI ATTEND HUNGARIAN RECEPTION--Tirana, 4 Apr (ATA)--On occasion of the National Day of Hungary, the interim charge d'affaires of the Embassy of the Hungarian People's Republic Istvan Kadar gave a reception at the embassy seat on 3 April. Attending the reception were the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Muhamet Kapllani, the Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade Pajtim Ajazi and other guests. Present were also heads and officials of the diplomatic representations accredited to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0935 GMT 4 Apr 85 AU]

CSO: 2020/101

ALBANIA

MURRA, CAMI ATTEND MILITARY SCHOOL CEREMONY

AU291221 Tirana ATA in English 0740 GMT 29 Mar 85

[Excerpt] Tirana, March 29 (ATA)--Forty years are completed since the day of the creation of the "Scanderbeg" general secondary military school, which trains cadres for our people's army.

To celebrate this event a jubilee meeting was organized in the "Scanderbeg" school on 28 March. Taking part in it were former pupils of the school, cadres and pedagogues, invitees from other military schools and units of our people's army.

Attending also were alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and Minister of People's Defense, Prokop Murra, Minister of Education and Culture Tefta Cami, member of the Central Committee of the party Mito Nito, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Working Youth Mehmet Elezi and other comrades. At the meeting it was spoken on the 40-year long road of the school which was created on the direct instruction of the general commander of our armed forces Comrade Enver Hoxha. It was stressed that all effective have been mobilized to elevate the scientific level of the didactic educational work, in order to provide the higher military school with pupils acquiring a full, all-sided knowledge, capable of mastering our military art on people's war, to become worthy and loyal cadres to the party, the people and socialism, for the defense of the attained victories.

Kico Mustaqi, chief of the General Staff of the Army greeted on behalf of the Ministry of People's Defense.

From the meeting a telegram was sent to the general commander of our armed forces Comrade Enver Hoxha. [passage omitted]

CSO: 2020/100

ALBANIA

BRIEFS

GREEK EMBASSY RECEPTION--Tirana, March 26 (ATA)--On occasion of National Day of the Greek Republic, the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Greek Republic to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Apostolos Papasliotis, gave a reception last night. Present at the reception were the Minister of Foreign Affairs Reis Malile, the Minister of Foreign Trade Shane Korbeci, the President of the Academy of Sciences Aleks Buda, the chairman of the Executive Committee of the People's Council of the District of Tirana Jashar Menzelxhiu, deputies to the People's Assembly, working people of science, culture, art, the press and other guests. Attending also were heads and functionaries of the diplomatic representations accredited to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0920 GMT 26 Mar 85]

ALIA GREETING TO SARTZETAKIS--Tirana, March 31 (ATA)--The President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia, sent the following message of greeting to the President of the Greek Republic, Khristos Sartzetakis: "It is a pleasure for me to convey to you cordial greetings and wishes on occasion of your election as president of the Greek Republic. Wishing you successes in your high duty, I express the conviction that the friendship between the Albanian people and the fraternal Greek people and the relations of good neighborliness between the two countries will develop continuously to the benefit of our peoples and the peace in our region." [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 31 Mar 85]

ALIA GREETING TO ALEVRAS--Tirana, March 24 (ATA)--The president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia has sent the following message of greeting to the acting president of the Greek Republic, Ioannis Alevras: "The National Day of the Greek Republic provides me with the opportunity to convey to you cordial greetings and to the friendly Greek people the best wishes for their happiness and the prosperity of the country. I wish that the traditional friendship between the Albanian people and the Greek people as well as the relations of the good neighborliness existing between our countries are developed and strengthened constantly." [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 24 Mar 85]

ALIA GREETING TO BARBARA--Tirana, March 31 (ATA)--The president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia has sent the following message of greeting to the president of the Republic of Malta, Agatha Barbara: "On occasion of National Day of the Republic of Malta, it is a pleasure for me, on behalf of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and in my name, to convey to you cordial greetings and to the friendly people of Malta the best wishes for happiness and prosperity. I express the conviction that the friendly relations between the two countries will develop continuously to the benefit of our two peoples." [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0735 GMT 31 Mar 85]

NEW CAMBODIAN ENVOY ARRIVES--Tirana, April 5 (ATA)--The newly-appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of Cambodia to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania Phi Thac [spelling as received] arrived in our country. He was welcomed at the airport by the chief of protocol branch at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Jovan Antoni. [Text] [Tirana in English 0740 GMT 5 Apr 85]

CSO: 2020/100

BULGARIA

COMMUNIST PARTY GREETES LAO PARTY ANNIVERSARY

BK300910 Vientiane Domestic Service in Lao 1400 GMT 26 Mar 85

[Congratulatory message from Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee to Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee on occasion of 30th founding anniversary of LPRP--date not given]

[Text] On behalf of the Bulgarian communists and people, we would like to extend our warm congratulations to the Lao communists and the fraternal Lao people on the occasion of the 30th founding anniversary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP]. The LPRP's founding constituted a decisive factor in the task of mustering all patriotic and democratic forces in Laos to fight for victory to regain their national independence, freedom, and social progress.

Under the leadership of the LPRP, and with assistance from the fraternal people in Indochina and support from the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, the patriotic Lao people triumphantly fought to liberate their country and opened a path for it to advance toward socialism. Today, the heroic and hard-working Lao people have fulfilled the tasks outlined at the third party congress, aimed at building foundations for the socialist system in Laos. With confidence and determination to carry the struggle, the LPRP's influence and prestige are rising among the laboring people in the country and throughout the world. The LPRP has continued its struggle against imperialists, reactionaries, and expansionists and hegemonists. It has made contributions to strengthening the unification of the international communist and workers movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The fraternal solidarity between the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and the LPRP is a firm basis for developing the all-round relations between the peoples in the two countries. This solidarity has been further enhanced by the treaty of solidarity and mutual cooperation and assistance between Laos and Bulgaria, signed in 1979 by Comrade Todov Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria [PRB], and Comrade Kaysone Phomvihane, general secretary of the LPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR].

On the occasion of the celebration of the 30th founding anniversary of the LPRP, the Bulgarian people strongly believe that under the leadership of the LPRP and the LPRP Central Committee, the Lao people will be able to defend and enhance together the revolutionary fruits they have gained and build socialism in their beautiful country.

Long live the LPRP--the organizer and leader of all victories of the Lao revolution!

Long live the close and fraternal solidarity between the BCP and the LPRP and between the PRB and the LPDR!

Long live socialism and peace!

CSO: 2200/130

BULGARIA

OFFICERS CELEBRATE WARSAW PACT ANNIVERSARY

AU010726 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Mar 85 p 6

[Text] The establishment of the Warsaw Pact is one of the most important events following World War II. For the first time in history a military-political alliance joined together countries whose peoples are building socialist society, inspired by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

A meeting held yesterday at the Central Club of the People's Army in Sofia, where young officers of the Sofia garrison met military attaches from the socialist countries, was devoted to the 30th anniversary of the Warsaw Pact.

Officer Baychev spoke on the significance of the Warsaw Pact under the circumstances of today's complicated, international situation. He stressed that the joint armed forces of the Warsaw Pact member-countries are indomitable protectors of the socialist achievements, they are indefatigably watching over the peaceful efforts of the working people in the socialist community member-countries, they are capable of accomplishing their historical mission and of guaranteeing peace on our planet.

In connection with the anniversary of the Warsaw Pact Organization and the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler-fascism and Japanese militarism, the soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army were greeted and addressed by military attaches of Warsaw Pact member-countries accredited in our country.

CSO: 2200/130

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV MEETS 'BORIS I' FILM CREATORS

AU022007 Sofia BTA in English 1728 GMT 2 Apr 85

[Text] Sofia, 2 Apr (BTA)--"The new feature film [King] 'Boris I' stands out in Bulgarian cinema art as a powerful work from the point of view of ideas, artistic merits and professional competence," Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, said today. He spoke at a meeting of the Secretariat of the CC of the BCP with the creators of this film relating fateful events in the history of Bulgaria which took place in the 9th century and which are connected with the official adoption of Christianity and with the preservation and spreading of the Slavo-Bulgarian writing in the medieval Bulgarian state.

Mr Todor Zhivkov stressed that in the film there intertwine the personal and the people's drama. The film shows the greatness of an unusually foresighted statesman who "clearly saw the power of the unity of the people."

"The name of Boris I and his revolutionary and profoundly democratic lifework are associated with the conversion of the nation to Christianity and the creation of the Bulgarian written language on the basis of the spoken language of the people," Mr Todor Zhivkov said. "Boris I crowned his life with wide-ranging literary activities. He introduced the Slavo-Bulgarian alphabet, founded the outstanding literary schools of Preslav and Okhrid and built schools."

The Bulgarian party and state leader gave a high assessment to the work of the director of the film, Borislav Sharaliev, of its script writer Anzhel Wagenstein, of its cameraman Venets Dimitrov, of its artists Mariya Ivanova and Nikola Nikolov, of its composer Veselin Nikolov and of the performer of its principal role Stefan Danailov as well as of its other actors.

Mr Todor Zhivkov pointed out that in connection with the celebration of the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state, the Bulgarian cinematography has created a number of films on historic subjects which play an important role in the strengthening of the patriotism of the Bulgarian people. "With the valuable in our national history we educate the generations in the spirit of socialist patriotism and internationalism, in respect to all sacred [as received] created by human genius. If some

films center on the lifework of great Bulgarian statesmen, it is to show the sound roots and the power of the popular masses in history, the great popular movements, led by great personalities," Mr Todor Zhivkov said.

Touching on the forthcoming celebration of the 1100th anniversary of the death of Methodius, the closest associate of his great brother Constantin Cyril the philosopher, the Bulgarian leader emphasised that their work is of universal character. Today, when the Bulgarian people render homage to their memory they bear in mind that the work of Cyril and Methodius was crowned with success because it answered the objective requirements of history and because it was a work of state significance. The fact that it was the Bulgarian state that saved and developed this work is undeniable," Mr Todor Zhivkov said.

He defined the new film as a "successful achievement of the artistic aim and as a work of great political contents."

Mr Todor Zhivkov assured the cinematographers that the Bulgarian Communist Party will continue to render all-round support to the flourishing of the Bulgarian socialist cinema art.

On behalf of the team of authors, the script writer Anzhel Wagenstein expressed gratitude for the high evaluation of their work.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1730 GMT on 2 April reports Todor Zhivkov's meeting with the "Boris I" filmmakers and adds: "The meeting was attended by Comrades Milko Balev, Georgi Atanasov, Georgi Yordanov, and Stoyan Mikhaylov."]

CSO: 2200/130

BULGARIA

IMAMS DEFEND ASSUMPTION OF BULGARIAN NAMES

AU041033 Sofia BTA in English 0928 GMT 4 Apr 85

[Text] Sofia, 4 Apr (BTA)--The imams of the Districts of Razgrad, Shumen and Ruse voice their indignation over the slanders and fabrications broadcast by certain news agencies and centers in the West, as well as in Turkey, about coercion being exercised over Muslim Bulgarians.

The resolutions, voted at the imams meetings in all three districts, qualify these slanders as the latest in a series of attempts to discredit Bulgaria in the eyes of the international community and of the Islamic world through self-seeking political speculation with the creed of Muslim Bulgarians.

The resolutions are carried in today's issue of OTECHESTVEN FRONT, several numbers of which have already made public the documents voted at such meetings called in other districts of the country, too, in support of the declaration of the Bulgarian Muftis Institution refuting the invectives levelled at Bulgaria.

The imams of the Districts of Razgrad, Shumen and Razgrad [as received] declare that Muslim Bulgarians live freely in their homeland and are free to profess their religion, and that nobody has demolished or closed any mosques and Muslim religious shrines.

"It is not the first time that Turkey has tried to intervene in our internal affairs, that it has brazenly regarded us as compatriots and has taken mean advantage of our religion, too. Many are the countries of Islam and nobody has authorized Turkey or any other country to become an expounder and a spokesman," say the imams of Razgrad District.

We have assumed our nations names, and this by no means goes against our sacred religion, says the same resolution. Our creed enjoys the protection of Bulgaria's constitution.

Muslim Bulgarians in the district of Shumen also declare that they have recovered their Bulgarian names of their own free will: "A historic act

which has nothing to do with religion and does not impede our creed." We have always been and are part of the Bulgarian people, and we have nothing to do with the Turkish nation, they emphasize and point out that nobody has given Turkey the right to represent either Islam or Muslims in Bulgaria.

Muslim Bulgarians and their children do not know poverty and unemployment, they enjoy much greater prosperity than many of their brothers worldwide, observe the imams of Shumen District.

Stressing that the assuming of Bulgarian names by Muslims in Bulgaria does not contravene their religion and in no way hampers its profession, the Ruse District imams ask the question on what grounds Turkey is trying to falsify and distort the truth.

No "spokesmen" and "patrons" are entitled to speak on our behalf, to interfere in our life and to mislead the Islamic world, they emphasize, stating categorically that Muslim Bulgarians are part of the Bulgarian people and have never been related to the Turkish nation.

We condemn all claims by other governments and states on us Bulgarian citizens professing Islam, reads the resolution of the imams in the District of Ruse.

CSO: 2200/130

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

KHRISTOV MEETS FIAT OFFICIAL--Sofia, 4 Apr (BTA)--Representatives of the Italian industrial Fiat grouping want to establish closer contacts and wider cooperation with interested Bulgarian organisations. Today, Dr Marco Pitaluga, director of Fiat, who is on a visit to this country, discussed with Mr Khristo Khristov, Bulgaria's foreign trade minister, the possibilities for promoting relations in the field of transport-mechanical engineering, road construction equipment, biotechnologies, etc. They also discussed issues of industrial joint production. The Bulgarian side confirmed its readiness to create favourable conditions for the development of mutually advantageous cooperation and to undertake concrete initiatives of short- and long-term character. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1740 GMT 4 Apr 85]

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES PCF POLITBURO MEMBER--Sofia, 2 Apr (BTA)--Today, Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP, received Mr Roland Leroy, member of the Politburo of the French Communist Party and director of the L'HUMANITE daily. Mr Yordan Yotov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and editor-in-chief of the RABOTNICHESKO DELO daily, was also present at the talks, which passed in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1745 GMT 2 Apr 85]

EGYPTIAN SCIENTIST'S VISIT--Georgi Yordanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee of Culture, has received Professor Muhammad Lakani, well-known Egyptian scientist, deputy general secretary of the World Federation of Scientific Workers and chairman of the regional center of the Federation in Egypt. Kiril Bratanov, chairman of the Scientific Workers Union in Bulgaria and Prof Lakani signed a cooperation agreement in Sofia. It provides for the exchange of information, literature, and methods of cultural development, as well as for mutual visits between scientific and cultural figures of both countries, as well as for the organization of bilateral scientific symposiums and conferences on problems of mutual interest. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Mar 85 p 8]

MOSQUE RESTORATION IN SILISTRA--Silistra, 26 Mar (BTA)--The restores team of Tsoko Rakovski ran across an interesting find in the only mosque of the city of Silistra on the Danube. While clearing the plaster on the inside

of the building, they found several Christian crosses carved into the stone. Other representations uncovered feature fruit-laden vines, and one window, that facing the main entrance of the temple, represents a well outlined cross-shaped aperture. This is yet another evidence that such religious structures have been built by Bulgarian masters. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1611 GMT 26 Mar 85]

MIKHAYLOV MEETS FOREIGN JOURNALISTS--Comrade Stoyan Mikhaylov received the participants in an international trip of journalists through our country on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the defeat of fascism and Japanese militarism. The trip is organized by the SOFIA PRESS AGENCY and press agencies of fraternal socialist countries. The participants visited several okrugs and met first secretaries of BCP okrug committees and chairmen of people's council executive committees, and other leading officials who told them about the armed struggle against fascism, and about the fatherland war. Comrade Stoyan Mikhaylov briefed the journalists on the nationwide activities devoted in our country to the worthy celebration of the glorious jubilee. He pointed out and denounced the attempts of certain political circles and mass media in the West to falsify the historical truth about World War II and about the decisive role of the Soviet Union, above all. He also denounced the attempts to revise the Yalta and Potsdam agreement. Comrade Mikhaylov dwelled on certain topical tasks connected with the preparations for the 13th BCP and on the fulfillment of the decisions of the BCP Central Committee February plenum in connection with implementing contemporary scientific-technical revolution in our country. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 26 Mar 85]

CSO: 2200/130

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

MOSCOW FESTIVAL TO PROVE REACTIONARY U.S. POLICY

LD012042 Prague CTK in English 1654 GMT 1 Apr 85

[Article by Richard Hajskey]

[Text] New York, April 1 (CTK)--The "alternative" to the World Festival of Youth and Students, to take place in Kingston, Jamaica, and be attended by youth of the "free world", is nothing but a new attempt to split the world youth movement politically and ideologically only a few weeks before the World Festival opens in Moscow.

The representatives of young people of the socialist countries, states with progressive orientation and national liberation movements, and young peace fighters from the whole world, including capitalist states, who will be coming to the World Festival in Moscow, are to be excluded from the "Jamaica Conference". Its secretariat has clearly stated that it would select delegates on the basis of some sort of "proof of the degree of democracy" in their countries. It need not be said that the secretariat will gladly approve the participation of young people from such countries as South Africa or Chile.

The American viewer, listener or reader is not informed about the Moscow festival and intensive preparations for it, including the activity of many festival committees also in the United States.

It is no secret that the Reagan administration and its spying centers are doing everything to mask the broad support of young Americans for the Moscow festival. Young people from the whole world--including a delegation from the United States--will speak in Moscow frankly about the problems which will clearly prove the reactionary character of the policy pursued by the present U.S. administration. Targets of criticism will be the policy of arms race, the "star wars" project, armed intervention in various parts of the world, support to fascist and racist regimes, cuts in social spending, and unemployment and discrimination affecting young people in particular. This criticism will certainly not please the American government.

CSO: 2020/103

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPSU DELEGATE ADDRESSES SYMPOSIUM

LD272236 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 27 Mar 85

[Excerpts] The Czechoslovak-Soviet scientific symposium on the theme of increasing the role of the ideological work of the CPCZ and CPSU in the context of building and perfecting developed socialism, which opened today in Prague, was addressed by Jan Fojtik, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. [passage omitted]

Anatoliy Yegorov, director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU Central Committee, spoke about the communist education of the masses in conditions of perfecting developed socialism. He emphasized that the attention of the Party in this direction concentrates on securing the all-round development of man, the organic link of the ideas of creative Marxism-Leninism with the creative activity of the people for the speeding up of the social economic development of the country. At the same time Academician Yegorov pointed out that the present international situation calls for an active offensive struggle against the policies and ideology of imperialism, and he gave attention to the formation of patriotic and internationalist awareness of the builders of communism and active efforts for strengthening the unity of countries of the socialist community in the struggle for peace and social progress.

CSO: 2400/340

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FRG PRESS SEEN DISTORTING GERMAN ROLE IN WWII

LD012347 Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1730 GMT 1 Apr 85

[Text] Articles have appeared on the pages of the West German press recently devoted to the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II and the defeat of German fascism. The manner in which the majority of bourgeois journalists report the last days of the war is, however, curious to say the least. Springer's BILD, for instance, in a serial entitled "The Last 60 Days" presents the Wehrmacht and other branches of Hitler's armed forces, that were murdering and plundering up to the last moment, as the saviors keeping West Europe from communism.

The defeat of fascism is described here as a crime against the German nation. Even the weekly STERN has not avoided for instance, painting a distorted picture of the end of the war either. In its 13th issue, in a series of articles running to several pages, one cannot find a single mention of the exceptional sacrifices made by the Soviet Union, above all, in the liberation of Europe from fascism. The articles, on the other hand, lament the sufferings to which Germans, who were forced to evacuate territories east of Oder and Neisse--stolen by them some time ago--as well as from the Sudetenland, were subjected. The question of guilt is conveniently reduced to a few Nazi leaders. In brief, the mirror the West German press uses is dangerously distorted.

CSO: 2400/340

24 April 1985

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

NUMBER OF CUBAN WORKERS TO REACH 9,000 IN 1985

AU021203 Prague PRACE in Czech 30 Mar 85 p 4

[Report by Zuzana Naprstkova: "Expression of Warm Relations"]

[Text] A meeting between representatives of the Central Trade Union Council and the best Cuban workers temporarily living in Czechoslovakia was held yesterday on the premises of "Budovatel", the house of the Prague trade unions. Some 50 top-placed participants in the competition of the socialist cooperation brigades for 1984 received letters of recognition awarded to them on the decision of the Central Trade Union Council Secretariat.

The solemn act was attended by Frantisek Brabenec, secretary of the Central Trade Union Council, Sidroc Ramos Palacio, ambassador of the Republic of Cuba to the CSSR, and other representatives. F. Brabenec voiced appreciation for the contribution of Cuban workers to the fulfillment of the challenging tasks of the last year of the quinquennium, including the elimination of the consequences of the cold spell at the beginning of the year. He called this an expression of internationalism and warm relations between the people of the two countries.

The Cuban ambassador reminded the award winners of their duties as members of the revolutionary trade union movement and of the important role they play as a source of advice and a good example for other Cubans living in Czechoslovakia, whose number will increase to almost 9,000 by the end of this year.

CSO: 2400/339

24 April 1985

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## CSSR TRADE UNION DELEGATION HOLDS TALKS IN DELHI

LD012308 Prague CTK in English 1941 GMT 1 Apr 85

[Text] New Delhi, April 1 (CTK)--A delegation of the Czechoslovak Central Council of Trade Unions, led by its deputy chairman Vaclav Bezel, and a delegation of the All-India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), headed by its general secretary Indrajit Gupta, agreed today on major topics for further cooperation between the two organizations in 1986 and 1987.

In harmony with the plan of cooperation signed between the two organizations, their representatives discussed joint actions in educating trade union functionaries, exchanging study delegations and in other spheres, and decided to extend cooperation also on the level of lower trade union bodies.

In today's final talks, the two delegations paid great attention to the struggle for peace and against armament. They agreed that the arms race hampers both the improvement of the position of workers and the introduction of a new and just economic order. It is therefore necessary to strengthen the unity of trade unions in the struggle for peace.

The Czechoslovak delegation was today received by the Indian state Minister of Labor T. Andjajah.

CSO: 2020/102

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PAPER REPORTS ANTI-CATHOLIC CAMPAIGN IN CSSR

AU030910 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 2 Apr 85 p 1

[Special DIE PRESSE report by "d.v."]

[Text] Vienna/Prague--Despite "conciliatory gestures", the CSSR authorities' campaign against the Catholic Church is continuing; only its form has changed. This time the measures are "wrapped up" in security instructions for the forthcoming celebrations on the occasion of the 1,100th death anniversary of St. Methodius. In a letter of protest to state and party chief Gustav Husak, Prague Archbishop Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek has branded these instructions as unlawful.

In his letter, the cardinal wrote that the impression was being created as if the planned church celebrations were endangering the republic. A purely religious celebration was thus being given a highly political aspect. Tomasek specifically referred to the CSSR Constitution as well as to the General Human Rights Declaration and two UN human rights agreements which have also been ratified by Prague. Accordingly, the state measures against canon law are "completely illegal", he declared.

The cardinal had come into possession of some of the secret internal party instructions which had recently been issued to the mass media, publishing houses, scientific institutes, and all state organs down to the local communities. From all these instructions it can be concluded that the authorities are planning sharp control measures against participants in the celebrations on the occasion of the 1,100th anniversary of the Slav Apostle Methodius.

In his letter of protest, Tomasek underscored that in the CSSR, church celebrations have never been directed against the state. Hence, there was no reason to alert the authorities.

In another letter addressed to the editor of the Prague party organ TRIBUNA, the archbishop sharply protested an article published in January which contained many distortions and calumniations directed against the church. Thus, the Benedictine monasteries were called "breeding grounds of obscurantism", the Saints Cyril and Methodius "ministrant-lackeys", and St. Vopjtech a "servant of the German emperor" and "Angel of Death

for the Baltic Prussians". The article also contained new attacks against the Pope.

The cardinal's indignation was directed against the party propagandists: "It does not do you any credit that your utterances lack the proper social level." The Prague archbishop mentioned as awkward the fact that recently other CSSR mass media have also adopted this tone.

At the same time, police and judicial authorities are giving ample proof of the fact that there is no reconciliation between church and state in the offing. In a frequently adjourned trial, three young Catholics were sentenced at the end of March to unsuspended prison terms of 18 and 16 months [assignment of sentences among three not further clarified], respectively, because they had brought with them from Poland religious literature and pictures. They were charged with violating foreign currency and commodity regulations--in other words, with smuggling.

CSO: 2300/360

24 April 1985

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## SOCIALIST COUNTRIES' DECLARATION CRITICIZES ILO

AU031503 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Apr 85 p 7

[CTK report: "The Work of the ILO Requires a Fundamental Change"]

[Text] Geneva (CTK)--A Declaration of the Socialist Countries on the Situation in the International Labor Organization (ILO) was handed Monday to ILO Director General Francis Blanchard by Ambassador Milos Vejvoda, the CSSR's permanent representative to the UN European office and other international organizations in Geneva.

The document, whose co-authors are Bulgaria, the Belorussian SSR, the CSSR, Hungary, Mongolia, the GDR, the Ukrainian SSR, and the USSR, says among other things that these countries, despite some positive aspects, assess the results of the ILO's activity and of the leadership of its Secretariat negatively on the whole, and note that the work of the organization requires a fundamental change. The fact is ignored in the ILO that its members also include the socialist and developing countries, and that the importance of questions connected with the fundamental interests of working people, above all their right to life and work, are being ignored. The organization is being misused for political objectives against the socialist and other progressive countries, and does not make possible the equal cooperation of all countries. This disrupts the universal character of the ILO and puts its activity even more at variance with its goals.

The declaration notes that activity connected with questions of peace and international security is being deliberately retarded in the ILO, and that the resolution on the economic and social aspects of disarmament, adopted at the 1981 ILO general conference, is not being fulfilled.

Reactionary forces are misusing the ILO for ideological subversion against the socialist countries and trying to interfere in their internal affairs under the pretext of control of observance of ILO agreements. An example of this is the hostile course vis-a-vis Poland, which in the end forced Poland to withdraw from this organization.

The so-called ILO control mechanism, which is to keep an eye on the observance of international work norms, is being increasingly transformed into an organ oriented toward a certain group of countries. The socialist countries have

submitted concrete proposals for restructuring this control mechanism, which would strengthen elements of cooperation in the ILO and ensure objectivity. However, the director general ignored these proposals as well as the broad support they received at the 70th session of the conference.

The declaration stresses the need for a change in the ILO structure and methods of its work, and the necessity of their harmony with the political, social, and economic realities of the present-day world. Among other things, it also points out the anti-socialist course in the ILO board, which rejects the representation of managers of enterprises from the socialist countries.

The leadership of the ILO secretariat also refuses to foster cooperation and mutual understanding between trade unions of various political orientations and truthful information about the role and position of trade unions in socialist society. The declaration notes that the system of geographic rotation in functions in the ILO bodies is not respected consistently and in this the socialist countries are discriminated against. The document protests against increasing aid to employers' organizations, provided to the detriment of working people's organizations.

The socialist countries also criticized the policy of the ILO leadership in granting technical assistance. They stressed that ILO activity in that sphere must correspond to the socioeconomic development of the developing countries, and must not make them subordinate to monopolies, especially the supranational companies of the developed Western countries.

In the conclusion of the declaration, the socialist countries demand that the ILO concentrate on fundamental social issues, on vitally important interests of the working people of the whole world, on equal cooperation of all countries on a nondiscriminatory basis, and that it actively helps to reinforce peace and achieve disarmament. Otherwise, it will increasingly deviate from the path leading to its main objective--improving the living and working conditions of the working people and assisting international cooperation in the social and work sphere. It will become even more isolated from the broad masses of the working people and in the end become the object of political manipulation.

At the same time, the socialist countries expressed their willingness to cooperate fully in the effective fulfillment of the ILO's fundamental tasks in the interest of improving its activity.

CSO: 2400/339

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CSSR DAILY BLAMES CAPITALISM FOR DYING FORESTS

AU031331 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 1 Apr 85 p 2

[Article by Ota Rebound: "Pondering the Month of Forests"]

[Excerpt] The danger threatening our forests is different from any they have faced in the past. In the first place, there are industrial emissions. A full one-third of the area of forests in the Czech Socialist Republic is already affected by them. Pollution through sulfur dioxide, nitrogen oxide, chlorine compounds, and heavy metals causes a reduction of the forest's photosynthetic output, a matter that in the course of years leads to the reduction of its vitality and reduced resistance against the individual influences of nature, such as drought, frost, wind, or destructive insects.

However, the immense quantity of timber destroyed in our forests by last year's hurricanes has its origin not only in trees weakened by emissions, but also in the earlier capitalist way of managing the economy when--as the result of the pursuit of profit--disproportionate amounts of quick-growing spruce were planted, which has little resistance to wind and snow.

The key to resolving some forest problems has already been found, and scientific institutes are working intensively on others. However, there is no need to think too long about one essential matter: some 9 million cubic meters of windfall timber must quickly disappear from our forests. And after this, those places must begin to green quickly again. Otherwise, our mountain ranges might become transformed into desolate rocks devoid of life.

CSO: 2400/339

HUNGARY

POZSGAY OF PPF, SPEECH TO 13TH PARTY CONGRESS

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 28 Mar 85 pp 4, 5

[Speech by Imre Pozsgay, First Secretary of the Patriotic People's Front:  
"Socialism is Being Built With the Participation of the Entire People"]

[Text] "These days the country is living in the atmosphere of the 40th anniversary of the liberation and of the 13th congress of the party. The events of the anniversary and the preparations for the congress both show that our people remember well the historical events of the liberation and of the beginning of a new life, the achievements, stumbles and lessons of the road followed since then," Imre Pozsgay began his speech and then continued:

"The Patriotic People's Front is an extended political movement embracing the entire people which provides a framework for the cooperation of party members and non-party people, of believers and non-believers. In the spirit of mutual agreement the people's front unites the social and political organizations of the country which represent various classes and strata in the spirit of the common interest, thus furthering the realization of the alliance policy and the strengthening of socialist national unity.

"I entirely agree with what Comrade Kadar said about this on Monday. His words prompt to new deeds and inspire the activists and workers of our movement. I feel that we communists are still not sufficiently aware of the fact that our party was the initiator of this movement and is still and will be in the future a guiding member organization of this movement. The party is in the people's front with its policy and its organization and not only as represented by party members working in the various institutions of the people's front."

A Unique and Substantive Form of Cooperation

"The party is the chief force and guide of this movement embracing the entire people, and has a part in all its important undertakings. When the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party initiated the renewed organization of the people's front on the basis of the 1957 national party conference it started from the still valid principle that socialism is built with the guidance of the Marxist-Leninist party for the entire people and with the participation of the entire people. This decision was part of the Lenin line undertaken, the line

followed up to today and to be followed in the future, and as proof of it let me quote here a thought expressed by Lenin in 1921 which goes like this: 'In the masses of workers, peasants and intellectuals there are a good number of talented, honest non-party people who must be put in the more important posts of economic construction in such a way that the communists perform the necessary control and guidance. There is also a need for the non-party people to exercise control over the communists. For this purpose we should bring into the worker-peasant supervisory apparatus groups of those non-party workers and peasants who have passed the test honorably and they should be included in the supervision and evaluation of work independent of any official position and without formalism.'

"In recent Hungarian history the cooperation of communists and non-party people has found a unique and substantive form in the people's front.

"In order to implement the resolutions of the 13th congress there will be greater need than ever before for the united efforts of the entire society, for an unfolding of the creative strength and initiative residing in the people.

"How could this be achieved if some of the communists barricade themselves behind the walls of party organs and party institutions and pronounce from there their unappealable judgments concerning those comrades who venture out into the field and, perhaps stumbling, still undertake field work?

"One form of the abuse of power is to reject debate or to charge the debating partner with demagogy if his opinion is disagreeable. Of course there may also be those who in the scramble for positions play to bad public feeling. Usually this has occurred when the situation becomes dangerous and a path opens for dark forces appearing in the image of charismatic personalities of the guardian type.

"Is this a time for such a thing? I do not believe that we live in such times. I do not believe that after our history there would be anyone who would want to strive for cheap popularity with irresponsible politics. What may be more involved in these debates is that now we are dealing with the solution of problems and that generations following the same goal but pronouncing the word differently have not yet become sufficiently reconciled. In order to carry out the tasks awaiting us we must improve the conditions for social and economic progress by building good contacts with every class and stratum of the people.

"I know well that such an undertaking has risks and ideological problems. But we should start from the idea that in order to extend its contacts in a broad sphere the party does not have to dissolve itself in every current. On the contrary. Our allies will respect us and come to agreements with us if they know what we want and can recognize their own goals in what we want. This common goal is socialism, with the power of the worker class, of the people, and with the guidance of the party. This is the basis for the alliance, for socialist national unity. The mutual agreement came into being in this, and we can ask more than this only from ourselves; otherwise we endanger national unity.

"The proliferation of social debates and the further democratization of the decision-preparing work of party and state organs are having a beneficial effect on the people's front as well. To the extent that conserving on public expenditures increased the role of local initiative in the development of the settlements the cooperation of the people's front committees and the councils strengthened and the activity of the populace in this area increased. In the Fifth 5-Year Plan the value of social work serving to develop the settlements totalled 20 billion forints, but in the first 4 years of the Sixth 5-Year Plan it reached 40 billion. These accomplishments are the successes of the people and proofs of their readiness for self-government. It is obvious to everyone that people mobilized for community goals will not squander the goods produced to satisfy community needs. These accomplishments of local communities came about at a time when real wages were declining, when real income was hardly increasing, when the real value of budgetary support for towns and cities was being reduced," Imre Pozsgay emphasized, and then continued:

#### We Should Regard the Nationalities as Linking Bridges

"The cooperation which has developed with the churches has special significance from the viewpoint of our movement. The long-term settlement of relations between the state and the churches, putting them on constructive foundations, ensured good conditions for this cooperation politically. The religious believers have not only acknowledged socialism but have become diligent, active builders of it. The churches have stood by their believers and their country in this matter, and thus the cooperation with them extends from the tasks undertaken in the defense of peace to the broader areas of public life as well.

"Good cooperation with the nationality federations has developed in the Patriotic People's Front. I agree with those thoughts which the report of the Central Committee contains in regard to nationalities living in our country and Hungarians living beyond our borders. It is an indispensable international condition for our further progress that the peoples in the community of socialist countries here in Central Eastern Europe should prosper together, free of prejudices or bad feelings and the belated but all the more provoking movements of nationalism, forgetting the curse of bad neighborliness, learning to respect one another and to respect the right to existence of minorities and nationalities belonging to the family circle, with their desire to create a community.

"In the 20th century only that country can lay claim to the rank of a civilized state which has learned and which applies the Lenin principles that the majority nation must show consideration for the minority nation, which has learned that minorities do not hinder, on the contrary, they can further the state-creating, society-developing role of the majority nation. What we, the Hungarians, say about this has credit in the eyes of the peoples, because everyone knows what national tragedies and blows of fates affected our country in the 20th century.

Despite these tragedies, and learning from them, Hungary believes that the path which can be followed is good neighborliness, strengthening the community of fraternal peoples historically dependent on one another, and not self-justification hallowed by a falsification of history or digging up real or imagined grievances of the past. We should regard the nationalities living in our country and the Hungarians living beyond the borders as bridges linking our peoples. In the spirit of the constitution and a humanist policy the Patriotic People's Front thinks about it this way and the thinking of the great majority of our people is expressed in this also."

#### The Great Responsibility of Electoral Work

The speaker then spoke about the resolution, possibilities and necessity of certain conflicts appearing in society and emphasized:

"One of the most important lessons of the successful policy of the past quarter century is that the party was able to resolve in time the tensions arising in society. This ability to resolve conflicts was interdependent with a change which took place in the method of exercising power, namely that in its policy of harmonizing interests and resolving conflict the party relied on the interest expressing and interest representing activity of our social, economic and political institutions.

"This conflict-resolving and view-harmonizing policy of our party also determined the work content of people's front, which precisely for this reason fundamentally deviated from the simplified role which our social organizations played in the initial period of socialist construction.

"Broadening the scope of action, increasing the effectiveness of the political institutional system, improving moral relationships and realizing requirements based on solid values can also improve, in the final analysis if indirectly, the conditions for management. In the link between economics and politics the burden of responsibility rests not only on the shoulders of state organs but also on those of social and political organizations."

The speaker talked about the work of the people's front in the area of defending consumers' interests and then about the electoral law and the tasks connected with preparing for the elections.

"The most basic new provision of the new electoral law," he said, "is that now it will be possible to have multiple candidates for national assembly representatives and council members. In itself this already increases the political significance of the elections to a great extent, it can increase the activity of the voting citizens. The new law is a great step forward in the development of socialist democracy. The electoral work places great responsibility on the party, state and people's front organs responsible for it.

"The period up to the elections will be a period of study for the people's front activists and the voting citizens, because it will be necessary to break with customs of three and a half decades. There will be a need for information and propaganda work which is greater and more substantive than

ever before.

"The further development of economic guidance--and this too is linked to our electoral work--involves a modernization of the planning, regulatory and institutional system. It follows from this that it will bring a transformation of the management system and settlement development policy of the councils as well. These changes will be aimed at increasing local independence and at working out material-financial conditions ensuring real decision making possibilities for self-government organs. From the institutional side the expansion of local independence is indicated by the creation of borough councils [elöljáróság] and the abolition of districts [járás]. In the borough councils the associated towns get interest representation and certain self-government and with the abolition of the districts the administrative transmission belt between local self-government units and the local councils has been removed, which increased the political rank of local self-government units in addition to simplifying administration. This also increased to a great degree the role and significance of council members.

"Going beyond these organizational changes, council independence is also served by the efforts directed at creating self-financing for local tasks. Expanding the role of local income sources and the significant moderation of central and branch restrictions limiting the use of financial assets is strengthening the self-government character of settlement development."

#### To Protect the Values We Have Created

"The documents and resolutions of our congress can open the path leading to a further development of social unity in the economy and in settlement development in the broad sense, as in town and community development. The developmental direction for these two great areas is linked with the development of self-government. In production there must be an effort to see that self-government creates a common interest for the entire collective by increasing profit. In this way it will be possible to prove that democracy and order, democracy and efficiency, are not concepts which exclude one another but, on the contrary, concepts which mutually presume one another. In settlement policy the development of council self-government means an expansion of the scope for action and the possibilities for initiative. The initiative of citizens or the efforts to form associations should not be accompanied by suspicion or indignation if they are legal. Let us forgive the initial frailties and treat the problems," Imre Pozsgay said. He then talked about the settlement policy concept being prepared and then said the following:

"In a country like ours, where the leading role of the party is realized consistently, where there is a well constructed, reliably functioning state administration, and where legislation and the administration of justice can guarantee the order of the country and the rights of the citizens alike, where the socio-political organizations aid the party policy with the representation of interests, the resolution of conflicts of interest and the harmonization of interests, self-government develops on sure foundations. We should not believe that the passive power is the good power. The development of self-government requires a well functioning state which exercises a power of

universal validity extending to society as a whole and uses this power to guide the realization of great national programs extending to the country as a whole and to strengthen the self-government units. The citizen functions in this sphere of action, and social responsibility is shared between the citizen and the state. On the basis of this type of public life we can make everybody understand that socialism can be attractive in the eyes of people not only when it is piling up successes but also in times of difficulties. If we can awake in people an awareness of responsibility for those values which the new society has created, if we can give them tasks in defending these values which are real and which coincide with their personal aspirations, if we succeed in embedding the values of the national past in the vital questions of the present and the future, then we will succeed in bringing forward an entire country even in a time of difficulties."

8984

CSO: 2500/315

POLAND

PARTY DAILY ON 'POLITICIANS IN CASSOCKS'

AU011811 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Mar 85 p 3

[Article by Jan Ruszczyk: "Permanent Foundations and Reasons for Concern"]

[Text] The churches in the socialist state, the attitude toward believers, and the philosophical, ideological, and political presence of churches and religious associations in the construction of socialism and in the implementation of the tasks of changing social awareness--even these few issues indicate how complicated religious policy and state-church relations are.

The past few years have produced a considerable number of lessons in this regard and have reaffirmed the permanent nature of the foundations of the state's religious policy and of the relations between the state and the various churches and religious associations, of which there are over 30, including the Catholic Church, the biggest church of all. The past few years have also produced new positive and negative phenomena, the latter of which have been causing growing opposition in the past few months.

The positive phenomena include primarily the fact that the state's religious policy is stable and that its principles are permanent and have deeply penetrated the practice of life. These principles, which are written into the PPR Constitution, include freedom of conscience and creed, the right of the churches and religious associations to freely practice their religions, the separation of church and state, and the professions that "spreading hatred or contempt, setting people at loggerheads, and debasing man for reasons of nationality, race, or creed is prohibited."

Let us affirm unambiguously that these constitutional principles are inviolable and that he who violates them violates the Constitution and creates dangers for the most important values such as the good of the Polish people, independence and security, and the consolidation of the socialist state, and assaults the foundations of coexistence and cooperation among citizens. Only our Constitution provides a true interpretation of what is good for us.

The rich values of the 40 years of the PPR and those that we are developing include the harmonious cooperation for the sake of the country among

representatives of various religions and nonbelievers. We are consistent in observing the principle that the attitude toward socialist reality and not toward religion is the yardstick of the civic work of our people. We do not divide people into believers and nonbelievers. We divide them into those who are ready to jointly strengthen the foundations of our homeland and those who try to undermine these foundations.

The common position on crucial issues--this position is above philosophical differences, has been politically expressed in the past few years in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], which is the largest platform for cooperation of millions and millions of Poles and for the dialogue about the country's important issues. There is a place in PRON for anyone who wants to fight our mounting difficulties and to hasten their disappearance through solid work and social militancy. The fact that aside from the PZPR, the ZSL, and the SD, this movement was set up by three organizations of lay Catholics and Christians is of symbolic eloquence for the issues discussed here.

The party has also been behind important changes, which are briefly called efforts to expand the base of government which is illustrated by the fact that more Catholics have been included in the government. The party's cadre policy is consistent in attracting more nonparty people to leading posts, which is yet another proof that nonbelievers have great opportunities for promotion.

The present political, social, and moral education tasks simply call for greater cooperation between believers and nonbelievers and for the active participation of the Catholic Church and other churches in accomplishing these tasks. The opportunities for this are far from having been exhausted. The fact that, despite contradictions and contrasting views, state-church relations are successfully withstanding attempts to upset these relations should not blind us to the existence of these opportunities.

In his speech at the Szczecin accountability conference, W. Jaruzelski recalled the contribution of military chaplains and the work of the clergy to unite the western territories with the motherland. These priests continued this work for many years, despite the unfavorable attitudes of the Vatican's Pope Pius XII. W. Jaruzelski also recalled the fine words about the "territories regained after centuries", spoken by Pope John XXIII, a monument to whom was erected by lay communities in Wroclaw.

These attitudes of the Polish clergy should be cultivated under conditions in which so many tasks still face us. Is it not the moral vocation of priests to join the state's efforts against all forms of social demoralization and against various plagues such as alcoholism, hooliganism, and so on? Is not solicitude for public property a segment of the solicitude for the PPR's good? And yet there is so little of this solicitude in some Catholic publications, unfortunately. Strengthening the family, fostering respect for law and authority, and promoting effective work--these are just some of the other tasks, the implementation of which can be fruitfully shared by the state and the clergy engaged in pastoral and social work.

Let us approach this issue from a more general social point of view. Is it not a strange interpretation of the Vatican's incomprehensible ban on the clergy's public activities that has produced the paradoxical fact that whereas in many Latin American countries priests continue to fight and perish in the name of liberating the masses, in the PPR, which continues to realize the working people's ideals, barriers often continue to be erected against the development of the clergy's healthy civic militancy, which the people want? For example, some organizations, such as Caritas, which undertake such activities, are being looked askance at.

It is said at times that in the PPR the Catholic Church is "unable" to do otherwise than to stand aside from the mainstream of social activities sponsored by the country's political and state leadership and to act as a "reviewer on the right" of the people's government. This carries no conviction. The Catholic Church has amassed large achievements in fostering national cultural values over centuries, but has a large debt to repay to the masses, accrued at the time when, despite the protests of large sections of the clergy, the church hierarchy ferociously combatted the progressive aspirations of these masses and cooperated with the conservative forces. Would that those who glorify the Polish church traditions abandon a little their self-adulation in favor of self-criticism in order to look at the past in the mirror of truth. Perhaps in such a case there would be less pathos in their denials and declarations in connection with the recent positive fact that the bad features present in the activities of some priests have ceased to be taboo. The history of a millennium of coexistence between the Catholic Church and the state induces us above all to ponder on the problem of what is to be done to ensure that the state-church relations are different and better than they were in the old days, which were much worse for the people and the church.

The people in the Catholic Church whose aim is to combat the socialist state and the policy of accord certainly do not ask themselves such questions. These few but noisy people still continue to exploit the slaying of a priest as a pretext for inciting others against the government, which uncovered and severely adjudged this slaying. It happens that some priests, regardless of their religious vocation, continue to shout slogans of hatred from the pulpit, to stimulate intolerance against other religions and nonbelievers, to offend in this way against the Constitution, and to invade the schools in order to train young people in confrontation by means of actions to have crosses hung in classrooms.

In the past few years, typical islands of clerical adventurism, which is being practiced in the churches as well, have been set up in our country. Enclaves that are closed to people or are difficult to penetrate are also being set up aside from the stream of life. Divisions are being created even in dramatic art, which should be accessible to everyone, in that shows are performed in church institutions, which means that only the faithful can attend them. At the same time, a prominent Catholic poet wanted to withdraw his play from a state theater. He changed his decision only later on, perhaps because he realized that national culture cannot be made to fit the affairs of religion.

Is it possible for believers or nonbelievers to adjudge as normal the fact that community pastoral work, which has been greatly increasing recently, or the so-called oasis movement [ruch oszowy] are often used as a screen for rallying the people in opposition and for infecting young people with prejudices against socialism?

In the temples transformed into halls of public meetings, some people continue to distort the words of a church song, to demolish television sets, and to place political firebrands in the pulpits, some of whom even boast that they are nonbelievers. There are not many such temples, but the Western journalists thirsting for sensations are very keen to frequent them. Ideological dialogue under these strange conditions means that political firebrands attack the state and Poland's alliances and basic political values and that some of those present applaud all this as if they were at a rally, although they are in a place of religious worship.

These facts continue to cause justifiable indignation within the party and outside it. The masses of people who are sincerely interested in social peace and national accord and who go to church to pray as good believers continue to wonder about the aims pursued by the small group of politicians in cassocks and about the reasons why the church authorities continue to tolerate their activities, since these aims have nothing to do with religion.

Referring to concern and opposition in this regard and noting that the cases of politicking are sad, at times terrifying, and even profoundly amoral, W. Jaruzelski said in Szczecin: "Once again stressing our goodwill and the permanence of the principles of the socialist state's religious policy, we are looking forward with increasing concern and impatience to understanding and consideration for the position often taken on this issue by our party and government."

The party and the state have confirmed their patience through considered measures taken in the face of existing dangers and have combined their resolute struggle against anti-state forces with indefatigable efforts to attract disoriented people to the program of renewal and social accord. Could it be that some people would really like to hinder this renewal and accord? If so, they place themselves outside a decisive majority of our people.

CSO: 2600/743

POLAND

PRESS COVERS ONGOING REPORT-BACK CONFERENCES CAMPAIGN

AU281425 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26, 27, 29 Mar 85 pp 1, 2

[Editorial Report] Speaking at the Radom conference, which was also attended by PZPR Politburo Member Zofia Grzyb, Wlodzimierz Mokrzyyszczak, Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary, reported that the Radom party organization had strengthened its ranks and influence in the past few years, but militancy in responding to the problems that agitate the peoples is needed, which means that party organizations should tackle the economic problems of enterprises. "The point is to tap all the fat of work organization, rationalization, inventiveness, conservation of materials, and quality. Party members must pinpoint waste and bad management. They should try to tap the militancy of nonparty workers, social activists, and people's councillors, to create the climate to combat negative social features, and to properly exploit the experience of worker-peasant inspectorates. Efforts to promote national accord and the struggle against the political adversary are also crucial issues."

The Sieradz conference was attended by Central Committee Secretary Szignew Michalek, who noted that admissions to the voivodship party organization are now beginning to exceed departures from it and that new admissions include, above all, workers and peasants and "many young people."

He also said that some 69 percent of party members are trade unionists and that trade union activity is one of their most important tasks. They should also be active in the people's councils, social organizations, and self-government organizations in rural and urban areas, because it is necessary to achieve a rapid progress in changing people's consciousness and to increase the effectiveness of economic management in all sectors of life.

Speaking at the Piotrkow Trybunalski conference, which was attended by Politburo member Jerzy Romanik, Jan Glowczyk, Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary, reported that the weakening of the masses trust in the party had been a reason for the Polish crisis. The paper went on to say:

"Referring to the speeches from the floor that expressed concern over the nonreligious activities of some clergy, J. Glowczyk said that the party had a most profound interest in the extensive participation in our public life of the widest sections of our community, including, of course, the nonparty people and believers. This interest is part and parcel of the ninth party congress line of accord, struggle, reforms, and socialist renewal. We are against the artificial divisions of people into believers and nonbelievers. This applies especially to the workers class which, regardless of world outlooks, is united through its dignity as a class that is the leader of our people and is in charge of our most profound national interests. The class approach to the unity of interests of workers and all working people and the experience of the national front during the occupation produced the constitutional principle of equality of believers and nonbelievers and of separation of the Catholic Church from the state. In line with this principle it is possible to develop constructive state-church cooperation on the fundamental issues for all our people, including respect for work and concern for the good of the family, the country, internal security, peace, inviolable borders, and the right to live in peace. In saying that we do not pass over in silence the philosophic differences between Marxist and religious ideologies, observing the same principles, and defending the community of interests of all Poles, we will not behave passively vis-a-vis attempts to violate the principles of state-church separation and vis-a-vis features of aggressive political clericalism, which continues to abuse the churches and pulpits for antistate political activities against Polish interests. It is no accident that the priests who continue such rankling activities are being given publicity by subversive radio stations. We possess enough political and propaganda resources to tell all our people, including believers, the truth about the damage these priests continue to inflict on their own country and people."

The Gorzow Wielkopolski conference was attended by Central Committee secretary Waldemar Swirgon, who said that party organizations have acquired the skill of reliably accounting for the execution of their promises and resolutions and of making evaluations without superfluous phraseology and inflated generalities. He also reported that no efforts would be made to promote a massive recruitment of candidates to the party, but the party organizations should be more energetic in attracting most valuable people, especially workers, to the party.

Speaking of young people, W. Swirgon said: "The issues of young people, which was so often mentioned here from the floor, involves not only the activization of our young generation. It also involves the training of educators as well as of young people. However, we must keep in mind that it is not only teachers who are educators. In schools is it easy to tell the children of party members from other children? Do the children of party members attest with their attitudes in schools and universities that they profess the ideas professed by their parents?"

He stressed that the coming Sejm elections will be a great event in the life of the people and the party and that the people's approval of the socialist reform program will be of curcial importance for ending the Polish crisis.

Speaking at the Bialystok conference, Jan Glowczyk, Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary, reported that it is important to implement more and more tasks to be able to cope with the increasing economic needs and "to properly oppose our adversaries in the continued ideological and political struggle, whose intensification we should expect before the elections to the Sejm."

The Legnica conference was attended by Politburo Candidate Member Marian Orzechowski, who said that the political adversaries try to make capital out of every error or failure of the party and to sow the moods of pessimism, apathy, and disbelief. He also said that "the political adversaries have no right to be called a political opposition because in no country does political opposition act as a force that attacks the structures of the state and tries to ruin the economy."

Speaking at the Bydgoszcz conference of the Pomeranian Military District, Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski reported that "there is a constant need to propagate the principles of Marxist-Leninist ideology and the party's program and system of values. This activity must go hand in hand with the ideological consolidation of the PZPR and the unity of the views and attitudes shaped by a militant approach to the specific problems of social reality. The party's strength must be based on the awareness that the struggle against that which most strongly undermines the trust in the party and its credibility is continuing."

The Poznan conference of the Air Force was attended by Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary, reported that the course of the report-back campaign and the conference itself have confirmed that the party work in the Air Force is steadily progressing. He praised the ideological and educational work among the flying and ground personnel of the Air Force and noted that all the party members should pay more attention to influencing the people around them at their work and wherever they live.

The Warsaw conference of the Vistula Units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs was attended by Andrezej Gdula, vice minister of internal affairs. The conference evaluated the achievements of party members in all spheres of life and service of the units, in strengthening moral-political unity, in maintaining a high degree of combat readiness, and in implementing service and educational tasks.

CSO: 2600/737

POLAND

# WARSAW MILITARY STAFF CHIEF DISCUSSES CONSCRIPTION REGULATIONS

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15 Mar 85 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Brigadier General Edward Dysko, chief of the Warsaw Provincial Military Staff, by Jerzy Stolarek: "Selection About to Begin!"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] General, you have been performing the duties of chief of the Provincial Military Staff for only several months now. We would like to introduce you to the readers of ZYCIE WARSZAWY.

[Answer] My ties to the military go back to 1943 when, as a young boy, I joined the T. Kosciuszko 1st Division and participated with it in the Battle of Lenino. Afterwards, I found myself in the R. Traugutt 3rd Division, which I accompanied along the trail of combat from Warsaw to Berlin. During 42 years of military service, I have performed various duties, including those involved in commanding the 6th Pomeranian Airborne and 1st Warsaw Mechanized Divisions.

[Question] Let's switch over to the issues associated with this year's selection. When does it commence?

[Answer] It will last from mid-April until the end of June this year. It will be managed by the national defense and internal affairs ministers and executed by the provincial governors jointly with the chiefs of the military staff and the heads of cities, city sections and gminas. An exception is Warsaw and its metropolitan area; there, the city's mayor is in charge of the selection.

[Question] Who is required to present himself for selection?

[Answer] Primarily those young men who will complete their 19th year this year and the selectees currently enjoying a deferment from basic military service and have yet to be selected. Those called up individually are also affected. This year we will meet those who were born in 1966; they will make up the basic class. Additionally, we will talk individually with those born between 1961 and 1965 and deferred from military service or accepted for higher education without having come before the selection commission. We will also meet those born between 1957 and 1965 who were not transferred to the reserves, if they are competing for a service deferment on the basis of

providing care for a family member or working on a farm. Beyond this, we will meet those who were born between 1961 and 1965 and had presented bonafide medical documentation and are requesting a renewed determination of ability to serve, or whose physicians maintain that they have had changes in their health. Finally, we will talk to those born between 1957 and 1960 who have yet to be selected and have no legal reason not to be.

[Question] Knowing beforehand when selection commences, who is required to serve and what its principles are, let us recall how volunteers are handled.

[Answer] They can volunteer to serve their basic military service or train within the framework of young adults' defense training for those over 17 years of age. I will add that we will only call those up by name who will finish their 19th year and were designated for young adults' defense training beyond school in a specialty, like truck driving, but who also took their regular instruction at school. The obligation to be ready for selection lasts until the end of the calendar year a selectee turns 25. Those who have turned 29, but have yet to complete their basic military service, are also required to be prepared for selection.

[Question] A little time still remains before the selection period, but many young boys are already telephoning the editorial office to ask for more information. As happens every year, they confuse the concepts of selection and induction into the military. What are the differences?

[Answer] The objective of the selection is to complete an examination of those people required to perform military service. The selection commissions, which are made up the representatives of local administration authorities, military agencies and doctors, examine the health of the selectees. On this basis, they make pronouncements on the selectees' ability to serve in the military, they set the selectees' health classification, etc. Only after the military selection commissions have decided can the recruiting boards issue the selectees call-up cards to individual military units.

[Question] The Military Recruiting Boards [MRB] can also make decisions on service deferments...

[Answer] Yes. These deferments apply to those selectees who are sole bread winners in a family. Let us explain, however, that the acquisition of a deferment does not automatically mean a temporary release from the military. The commandant of the MRB is the only one who can decide about this; after all, he has the military's requirements on his mind. A selectee can be called up for military service and the members of his family, who are entirely dependent on him, will receive a monthly allotment. These allotments are paid out by first-level state administration offices. The family of a soldier who during his service becomes the sole supporter of his family also has the same such right for allotments.

[Question] Can the selection commission confer deferments?

[Answer] Of course, but only to a limited degree, and it applies only to those cases when the selectee is the sole supporter of a family member who is under 17 years of age, belongs to the first class of invalids, or is involved in agriculture.

[Question] And what if someone has a specific profession?

[Answer] The MRB decides that, but it is impossible to decide favorably if the profession were to interfere in the execution of military service. Overall, deferments are conferred only for specific periods of time.

[Question] I would also like to ask about those who have decided to pursue their studies at one of the military schools.

[Answer] Of course they can do so. They get their first pieces of information during their meeting with the Military Selection Commission from the military representative on it and at any MRB.

12247

CSO: 2600/727

POLAND

# PZPR'S WOZNIAK ADDRESSES CITY REPORT-BACK MEETING

LD302246 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 30 Mar 85

[Text] In Warsaw, Konin and Opole, report-back conferences of the PZPR voivodship organizations are in session.

During the conference in Warsaw, Marian Wozniak, Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Warsaw party committee, took the floor. Assessing the course of the report-back campaign of the capital party organization, he said, among other things:

"The report-back campaign we are summing up today has shown that we have already achieved a lot, but also that a lot remains to be done in the near future. Assessments made during the course of the report-back campaign proved the compatibility of our actions with the general directions of the central party leadership. The conclusions adopted are compatible with the resolutions of the Ninth Congress and with the contents and intentions of the Central and Warsaw Committees' plenary resolutions."

At report-back conferences and meetings, it was discussed how to improve discipline at work and how to cure the organization of production and the faulty inter-factory cooperation that often results from factory idiosyncracies.

Concern was expressed about the upbringing of children and young people. Local possibilities were sought in order to achieve improvement. In this context, the extra-religious, anti-state activity of a part of the clergy was met with resolute disapproval.

Much real and considerable concern was devoted to issues connected with the party's duty to consolidate in practice the principles of social justice.

At the same time, many critical comments were addressed to the administration of the city, especially about its inefficient way of solving the housing problem. The work of municipal establishments, administration of housing estates, both municipal and cooperative, as well as the work of some offices and local administration officials were criticized.

The campaign has proved that the quality of internal party work is improving. In a great majority of basic party organizations training meetings are held, according to the resolutions of the 13th Central Committee Plenum. We have more and more basic organizations which have at their disposal work plans that have been thought over, for the fulfillment of which all members are responsible, within the allocation of individual tasks.

It is a strong point of the Warsaw party organization that it is able to mobilize its own ranks for large-scale actions. Last year's May Day parade and also the 100,000-strong rally at the Tenth Anniversary stadium on the occasion of the July holiday are proofs of this.

At the same time, during a few days of January this year, we carried out open party meetings in all establishments, institutions and milieus, devoted to only one subject: the affairs of young people. It gave good substantive and organizational results. We consolidated and broadened our contacts with youth organizations and gave them support. We confirmed our earlier observations that young people support the party everywhere, where the party organization is strong and works well and where it is able to create for the young a field for ambitious involvement. This, at the same time, was a good test of the organizational efficiency of our links, including the basic ones. It also revealed our organizational and substantive [merytoryczne] shortcomings. It reminded us about blank spots in the distribution of party forces in particular milieus in the capital. It made us aware in how many factories and institutions the party is weak, or absent altogether.

The issue of conscious party building must still remain the center of attention of all party links and echelons.

CSO: 2600/741

POLAND

STATE COUNCIL DISCUSSES JUSTICE, CRIME

AU030929 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Mar 85 pp 1, 5

[Excerpts] PAP--The State Council was in session in the Belweder Palace on 28 March.

The session examined a report on prosecuting activities in 1984. In 1984, the time taken up by initial prosecution proceedings was greatly reduced as illustrated by the fact that the number of such proceedings taking more than 3 months was halved. Effective measures were taken to deprive criminals of the material benefits accruing from their crimes.

The State Council studied the main lines of the performance of the Ministry of Justice and the conclusions resulting from an analysis of the effectiveness of the struggle against crime in 1984.

It agreed that it is especially important to increase the efficacy of court proceedings, which should be greatly accelerated. The trend toward a more severe punishment of especially dangerous and frequent crimes should be maintained and developed. Such crimes include burglary, profiteering, bad economic management, waste, all thefts of public property, bribery, tax evasion, banditry, rape, road accidents when drunk, and crimes against the state and public order.

The State Council also examined a report on the performance of the Supreme Administrative Court in 1984, in which the impact of complaints on administrative decisions continued to increase.

Compared with 1983, this increase amounted to 19 percent. The total number of complaints was 11,413. However, the number of complaints assessed as justifiable decreased by about 32 percent in 1984. Most complaints concerned decisions on the communal and housing economy, taxation, construction, agriculture, and forestry.

There was also an increase in the complaints against the decisions of the supreme and central bodies of state administration. Despite the increases in complaints, the Supreme Administrative Court was able to effectively deal with them and to prevent any backlogs.

The State Council appointed Jan Gorzelanczyk the ambassador of the PPR in Malaysia.

POLAND

# SIWAK VIEWS ROLE OF TRADE UNIONS

LD050332 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 4 Apr 85

[Text] Albin Siwak, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, today took part in a meeting in Koszalin of trade unionists from construction enterprises. Our reporter asked him for an interview.

[Reporter] What should the role of the trade unions be in construction enterprises?

[Siwak] First and foremost, it must be a role of defending the interests of working people. This has to be the starting point. But this does not at all mean just squeezing out all the achievements of socialism for the needs of working people; to put it more brutally, specifically, squeezing out funds. It is very good that unionists are speaking increasingly widely, more powerfully, and in a down-to-earth manner, of their role as joint administrators; that they are speaking more and more specifically of the fact which one has to take as one's starting point: the fact that first one has to produce before one can distribute.

Here I want to say that the role of the trade unions, alongside their role in looking after and defending interests generally, in the right sense, emphatically, must also be joint administrator of the enterprise; and that means joint administration in a wise way, so that work discipline, the quality of work, and the use made of raw material and energy, is planned well in that enterprise. This is all the more so because the economic reform compels the plant--and thus so to say, compels the trade unions--to take matters into their own hands.

CSO: 2600/743

POLAND

JARUZELSKI, JABLONSKI ATTEND SCOUT CONGRESS

LD312333 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 31 Mar 85

[Text] The Eighth Polish Scout Union (ZHP) Congress has ended in Warsaw. New supreme authorities of the union were elected and a program resolution and other documents were approved concerning the Sejm elections, the health of children and young people, and also the situation in the contemporary world.

Representatives of the supreme authorities including Wojciech Jaruzelski and Henryk Jablonski attended the final day of deliberations; they had been present at the opening ceremony.

Speaking to congress participants, General Jaruzelski said: "Young friends, respect the state, because you will be taking over its helm at the turn of the century. Do not listen to petty, evil people with flawed imaginations, obdurate and gratuitously unenlightened, who say that People's Poland is not Poland. Often even foreigners friendly toward us are not able to understand this pathological hatred. I want to say with particular satisfaction that in the course of the decades of the Union's existence its programs and organizational forms have undergone change. Through all those years, the scout movement has stood fundamentally on the side of humanism, social progress, and social justice. It has always been a bright chapter in our life."

The affairs of the young generation, General Jaruzelski pointed out, are a sphere of a constant interest to the party and government. "The Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum was an eloquent expression of this, as are the programs and measures undertaken by government and state bodies in matters of the most vital interest for young Poles. The PZPR Central Committee Politburo recently acquainted itself with the progress of their implementation and recommended that this process be speeded up and intensified. We are cognizant of the difficulties your parents often have to cope with. We will do everything possible to make things better. The proposals emerging from the deliberations at the Eighth ZHP Congress will also be examined carefully and sympathetically."

At the end of his speech, Wojciech Jaruzelski congratulated the new union officials on behalf of the party and government leadership and wished all its members success in their work for the good of the homeland and the young generation.

POLAND

WARSAW TV ON WORK OF NATIONAL DEFENSE MINISTRY

LDO42148 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 3 Apr 85

[Text] Not without reason it is said that the general staff and the central institutions of the National Defense Ministry are the brain of the entire army. It is, after all, they who work out the decisions concerning the command systems, the organizational structure, and the logistics base, the state of which to a crucial extent decides the modern condition of the army. We have frequently shown episodes of our soldiers' training on television. It has been only a fragmentary illustration of the practical testing of concepts, methods, and training programs developed precisely at the National Defense Ministry's central institutions.

Maintaining the correct rate of training and the full implementation of program and educational tasks in tactical formations and units clearly show that the party and official work of the ministry's central institutions has been at the highest level. The efficiency of work has increased, a modified method of commanding the forces has been introduced and better use has been made of the means of communication and information.

In striving for a constant strengthening of the state's defense capability, good results are produced by cooperation between the ministry's central institutions and specialized government ministries and various technical organizations. Much attention is devoted to scientific-research work conducted by the military schools and scientific institutes. The military scientists' efforts and their achievements benefit not only the armed forces but also the entire national economy, first and foremost in the area of economical and rational management. The high level of efficiency of commands and staffs has been documented during allied exercises. This has increased the experience of our armed forces, confirmed the allied reliability of Poland and our army, and served to strengthen the brotherhood-in-arms among the Warsaw Pact armies.

CSO: 2600/742

POLAND

DEFENSE MINISTRY REPORT-BACK CONFERENCE DISCUSSES TASKS

LD042111 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 3 Apr 85

[Text] A PZPR report-back conference of Defense Ministry central institutions took place today. It completed the party debate in the armed forces of the Polish People's Republic. Army General Florian Siwicki, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, as well as members of the defense ministry leadership, took part in the proceedings.

The Ministry of National Defense central institutions fulfill a particularly important role in the state defense system. They are the command and planning center. It is they who work out the principles of command and administration systems of the modern army. The highly qualified and devoted aktiv of these institutions, in fulfilling their party and official duties, makes an essential contribution to strengthening Poland's security and defensive power. Like in previous years, the party members serving here at each stage of their party and official work confirm that they understand the tasks facing them to be selfless service and work in the interests of the entire Polish community, state, and nation, and the entire socialist defensive coalition.

Assuming that it is never possible to get complete satisfaction in this field, consideration was given to things that could be modified, improved and perfected. A lot of attention was devoted to the international factors that determine the situation at home. The military threat to the socialist states, caused by the continually growing armaments of the United States and other NATO states, was pointed out. The significance for our country of comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist states was forcefully emphasized. The fact that our participation in the socialist defensive coalition, the Warsaw Pact, is the basis of Poland's security was accentuated.

CSO: 2600/742

POLAND

#### BRIEFS

**OPZZ HOLDS SECOND MEETING**--The national Trade Union Accord Council (OPZZ) held its second meeting in Warsaw today. A report concerning the food price increases which had been the subject of talks between the government and the trade union movement a month ago was heard. Alfred Miodowicz recalled that, already at its first session in Bytom, the OPZZ supported a government program of achieving the market equilibrium which would not cause a drop in the standard of living of the working people and of old-age pensioners. At the same time, the OPZZ declared a constructive and active participation in actions leading to disciplining and setting the economy in order. Alfred Miodowicz emphasized that union postulates were taken into consideration, to a significant extent, in the final government decisions. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 30 Mar 85]

**'PUBLIC UNREST' CONVICTION**--The regional court for the Praga district of Warsaw has sentenced 48-year-old Marek Mickiewicz to 2 years imprisonment and to the publication of his sentence in the press. For a dozen months or so he had printed publications calling for public unrest, without permission, and with the intention of distributing them. The sentence is open to appeal. [Text] [Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 29 Mar 85]

**KISZCZAK IN KONIN**--Konin Voivodship has around 470,000 inhabitants, of whom 60 percent still live in the countryside, working in agriculture. The voivodship party organization numbers around 25,000 members and almost 300 delegates took part in the report-back debates. The conference was attended by internal affairs minister, candidate Politburo member, Gen Czeslaw Kiszczak. The party ranks in Konin Voivodship are growing. For example, last year 500 new members were accepted. [Excerpts] [Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 30 Apr 85]

**POLISH-AFGHAN ACCORD**--Warsaw, March 30--Poland and Afghanistan have signed an accord to exchange merchandise manufactured by their artisans and small-scale manufacturers. The sides will also exchange technologies in some branches of small-scale industry, establish joint trade companies and open specialist shops in Warsaw and Kabul. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1720 GMT 30 Mar 85]

**POLISH-PDRY SOCIETY**--The founding meeting of the Poland-South Yemen Society took place in Warsaw today. The aim of the society is to promote in Poland an Arab country which is relatively little-known but close to us politically and ideologically: the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 3 Apr 85]

EDUCATION AGREEMENT WITH CUBA--Benon Miskiewicz, minister of science and higher education, paid a visit to Cuba. As the result of talks with Fernando Vecino Alegret, minister of higher education of Cuba, Jose Fernandez, deputy premier and minister of education, and Isidoro Malmierca, minister of foreign relations, an agreement on cooperation between the ministries of higher education of Poland and Cuba for the years 1985-1986 was signed. The main directions of cooperation for the next 5-year period were also discussed and coordinated. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 31 Mar 85]

KUBIAK AT KROSNO PZPR MEETING--A voivodship report-back conference was held under the slogan: Service to the Working People--the Party's Everyday Practice, in Krosno today. Participating were 257 delegates, representing the 24,500-strong party organization of Podkarpacie. Professor Hieronim Kubiak, Politburo member, and Edward Brzostowski, deputy minister of agriculture and food economy, also took part in the conference. [Excerpt] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 29 Mar 85]

MALINOWSKI MEETS NEOGAULLIST OFFICIALS--Deputy Premier Roman Malinowski has stopped in Paris on his way back from Morocco. Today, at the seat of our embassy in the French capital a meeting took place between Deputy Premier Malinowski and members of the leadership of the neogaullist Rally for the Republic party led by its secretary general, Jacques Toubon. An evaluation of the present state of and, in particular, prospects for Polish-French contacts were among the subjects of the discussion. It was recalled that it was precisely Gen de Gaulle who in his time initiated an extensive development of contacts between Paris and Warsaw. [Text] [Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 1 Apr 85]

SIWICKI, KUBIAK AT CONFERENCES--PZPR report-back conferences are being held. The achievements during the term of office to date are being assessed, with the participation of Florian Siwicki, by delegates today representing the National Air Defense forces (WOPK). Hieronim Kubiak is participating in a voivodship report-back conference in Krosno. [Text] [Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1620 GMT 29 Mar 85]

CSO: 2600/738

ROMANIA

MEMBERSHIP OF CENTRAL COUNCIL FOR CLASSIFICATION, STANDARDIZATION

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 94, 31 Dec 84, pp 2-3

[Presidential Decree No 297 on Approved Membership of the Central Council for Classification, Standardization, Norm-Setting, and Quality]

[Text] The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Single article: The membership of the Central Council for Classification, Standardization, Norm-Setting, and Quality is endorsed as specified in the Annex which is an integral part of the present presidential decree.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 31 December 1984

ANNEX

MEMBERSHIP  
of the Central Council for Classification, Standardization, Norm-Setting, and  
Quality

Chairman	Elena Ceausescu
First Deputy Chairman	Gheorghe Oprea
Deputy Chairmen	Nicolae Constantin Ion M. Nicolae Ioan Avram Gheorghe Petrescu Ioan Totu Stefan Birlea Richard Winter Ion Ursu

Members:

Gheorghe Dinu	chairman of the Specialized Commission for the Chemical Industry
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Neculai Agachi	chairman of the Specialized Commission for Metallurgy
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Petre Preoteasa	chairman of the Specialized Commission for Machine-Building
Alexandru Necula	chairman of the Specialized Commission for Machine-Tool Building, Electrical Engineering, and Electronics
Gheorghe Constantinescu	chairman of the Specialized Commission for Wood and Construction Materials Industry
Vasile Bulucea	chairman of the Specialized Commission for Transportation and Telecommunications
Nicolae Busui	chairman of the Specialized Commission for Electrical and Thermal Power
Marin Stefanache	chairman of the Specialized Commission for the Mining Industry
Ilie Cisu	chairman of the Specialized Commission for the Petroleum and Gas Industry
Ioan Folea	chairman of the Specialized Commission for Geology
Ion Patan	chairman of the Specialized Commission for the Light Industry
Gheorghe David	chairman of the Specialized Commission for Agriculture and Food Industry
Ion Petre	chairman of the Specialized Commission for Civil and Industrial Construction
Emilian Dobrescu	minister secretary of state at the National Council for Science and Technology
Ion Constantinescu	minister secretary of state at the State Planning Committee
Dumitru Bejan	minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Technical-Material Supply and Control of the Management of Fixed Assets
Gheorghe Costea	state general inspector of the State General Inspectorate for Product Quality Control
Barbu Petrescu	general director of the Central Institute of Economic Research

The secretary of the Central Council for Classification, Standardization, Norm-Setting, and Quality is one of the deputy chairmen of the National Council for Science and Technology, who is directly responsible for the Directorate of Classification, Standardization, and Consumption Technical Norm-Setting.

ROMANIA

NEW DEPUTY CHAIRMEN FOR PEOPLES COUNCILS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 11, 2 Mar 85 p 8

[Presidential Decree on Some Appointments]

[Text] On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1 -- Comrade Domnica Maier is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Alba County Peoples Council.

Article 2 -- Comrade Vasile Sulger is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Olt County Peoples Council.

Article 3 -- Comrade Gheorghe Popescu is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Sibiu County Peoples Council.

Article 4 -- Comrade Nicolae Morariu is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the Suceava County Peoples Council.

Article 5 -- Comrade Aurel Lazureanu, director of the Directorate for Agriculture and the Food Industry in Timis County, is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the Timis County Peoples Council.

Article 6 -- Comrade Emil Tanase is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Tulcea County Peoples Council.

Article 7 -- Comrade Niculina Cosma is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Vilcea County Peoples Committee.

Article 8 -- Comrade Ion Radulescu, director of the Directorate for Agriculture and the Food Industry in Bucharest Municipality, is delegated

to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Bucharest Municipality Peoples Council.

Nicholae Ceausescu

President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 23 February 1985

CSO: 2700/131

ROMANIA

## MEASURES TO IMPROVE ACTIVITY OF MINISTRY OF CHEMICAL INDUSTRY

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 11, 2 Mar 85 pp 1-7

[Council of State Decree No 70 on Some Measures for the Improvement of the Activity of the Ministry of the Chemical Industry and the Units Under Its Jurisdiction]

[Excerpts] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article I -- As of 1 March 1985, the activity of production, research, design and foreign trade in the field of pulp, paper and cardboard is transferred from the Ministry of the Wood Industry and Construction Materials to the Ministry of the Chemical Industry.

Article II -- Decree No 675/1969 on the organization and operation of the Ministry of the Chemical Industry is amended as follows:

1. Article 1 will have the following content:

"Article 1. -- The Ministry of the Chemical Industry carries out the policy of the party and the state in the fields of the chemical industry, crude oil processing, non-ferrous metallurgy, pulp, paper and cardboard."

2. Article 19 will have the following content:

"Article 19. -- The Ministry of the Chemical Industry has the following organizational structure:

- a) Directorate for planning and monitoring of production;
- b) Technical directorate;
- c) Directorate for investments and construction;
- d) Machine-energy and automation directorate;
- f) Directorate for supply and marketing;
- g) Directorate for organization, control, personnel and training;
- h) Directorate for foreign trade and international economic cooperation;
- i) Special directorate;
- j) Juridical-arbitration office;
- k) Secretariat-administrative department."

CSO: 2700/131

ROMANIA

DECREE ON MINISTRY OF WOOD INDUSTRY, CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 12, 4 Mar 85 pp 1-6

[Council of State Decree No 71 on Some Measures for the Improvement of the Activity of the Ministry of the Wood Industry and Construction Materials and the Units Under its Jurisdiction]

[Excerpts] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article I -- Decree No 340/1982 on the organization and operation of the Ministry of the Wood Industry and Construction Materials is amended as follows:

1. Article 60 will have the following content:

"Article 60 -- The Ministry of the Wood Industry and Construction Materials has the following organizational structure:

- a) General directorate for planning, monitoring of production and investments;
- b) Technical and machine-energy directorate;
- c) Directorate for international economic cooperation and foreign trade;
- d) Directorate for supply and marketing;
- e) Directorate for finance and prices;
- f) Directorate for organization, control, personnel, training, remuneration;
- g) Secretariat - administrative department."

CSO: 2700/131

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

INTERIOR MINISTRY APPOINTMENT--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Lieutenant General Aristotel Stamatoiu is relieved of his position as state secretary in the Ministry of the Interior and appointed deputy minister of the interior. [Excerpt] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 12, 4 Mar 85 p 7]

CSO: 2700/131

YUGOSLAVIA

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND ON KOSOVO STATUS

Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 4 Jan 85 pp 19-22

[Article by Milomir Maric: "Books about Albanians"]

[Text] We are certain that the inundation of recollections, books, and feuilleteons on Kosovo and Albanians--the majority of which are characterized by subjective evaluation and limited to a fraction of the objective truth--has not always contributed to explaining the problems or filling in the gaps caused by many years of silence. What sort of message do these books have, and why did a promotion for the book "Sukobi na Kosovu" ["Conflicts in Kosovo"] draw as many as 1,000 Belgrade residents?

In his book "Sukobi na Kosovu" (Narodna knjiga; Belgrade), Dr Spasoje Djakovic is not taken in by the empty citadel of current Albanian and Kosovo historiography and does not sift through already excavated soil; he does not collect ancient cadastral registers of the inhabitants. Instead of naive, romantic excavations of the main "testament" which history has bequeathed Kosovo, he is not afraid of uncovering and exposing some things much "fresher," and for that reason taboos much better hidden and preserved.

Bujane, and Afterwards

The First Conference of the National Liberation Committee for Kosovo and Metohija, convened in Bujane, Albania on New Year's Day, 1944, passed a resolution which said that the first Yugoslav state had been created "without petition and against the will of the people." In this state, "the Siptar people have been oppressed and subjected to physical extermination in Kosovo--the breadbasket of the Balkans." At the same time, it explained why the majority of the Albanian population had at first accepted and welcomed the occupation and the rending-apart of the country. However, according to the Bujane resolution, the "avenging rifle of the freedom-fighter echoed in the woods, the villages, and the cities: partisan and volunteer detachments, led by Fadilj Hodza and other military leaders, dealt serious blows to the fascist occupier and to domestic traitors." The major resolution made by the conference was that Kosovo and Metohija were to be considered "an area which has primarily been settled by the Siptar people, and which, as always, both now and in the past, has wanted to be joined with Sipnija (Albania).

The commander of General Headquarters of the National Liberation Army [NLA] and partisan detachments of Kosovo and Metohija and member of the presidency of the meeting in Bujane, Fadilj Hodza, said on this occasion that the future of the Albanian people could be guaranteed only by a struggle against the fascist occupier "in collaboration with the NLA for the Liberation of Yugoslavia--shoulder-to-shoulder with the NLA of Albania."

Djakovic writes that the report from Bujane was first sent to Enver Hodza, and then to the Central Committee [CC] of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia [CPY], and in March 1944 Tito and the CC of the CPY challenged the resolutions of the Bujane conference and sent objections to the Kosovo partisan leadership because they had turned the regional committee into a provincial one without petition, independently changed the borders of Yugoslavia and changed the name Metohija to Dukadjin. After all, any change in the border was in opposition to the Atlantic Charter, the decisions of the Tehran Conference, and resolutions of the Second Meeting of the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia [ACNLJ].

Of the 49 delegates in Bujane, 42 were Siptars, 6 were Serbs and Montenegrins, and 1 was Moslem. Of the five officers, four were in Albania between the two wars, according to Djakovic's book. Three-quarters of the delegates were Albanian citizens, but, by all rights, were equal to the delegates from Yugoslavia, from Kosovo and Metohija. The conference was also attended by only two members of the Regional Committee of the CPY of the Communist Party for Kosovo and Metohija. Djakovic stresses that the presiding officer lived in Albania as an emigrant before the occupation, and is now in Tirane. After the liberation, the vice-president was connected with turncoats, came out for the Information Bureau in 1948, and fled into the woods where he was liquidated as a turncoat, and one of the officers and members of the presidency received approval to leave Yugoslavia in 1948. He is now one of the main theoreticians of Enver Hodza.

In July 1945, in Prizren, the First Regional National Liberation Committee for Kosovo and Metohija adopted a resolution completely opposed to the Bujane one. It stressed that the populace of this region never recognized the break-up of Yugoslavia, and that it was the desire of the whole area for the region to be annexed to federal Serbia to become an integral part of it. However, Djakovic asserts that neither at that time nor later were the Bujane resolutions officially annulled. Although marking these events, which were not in accordance with the line of the CC of the CPY and which were not in the Constitution or part of any laws, is unconstitutional and illegal, all the anniversary markings in Kosovo after the liberation have been connected with the forming of the National Liberation Committee [NLC] in Bujane, including the great anniversary celebration in Pristina of December of last year. The Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo Assembly passed a special legal regulation by which the participants of the Bujane conference were given equal status with the holders of the "Partisan Certificate of Service, 1941."

## The Unpleasant Truth

Djakovic states that at a meeting of Kosovo communists in 1963 Dusan Mugosa posed the question of the Bujane conference and the resolution made there, but two comrades, holders of the Partisan Certificate of Service, 1941, decisively opposed this. Jovan Veselinov, who attended the meeting representing the Serbian CC of the LCY, proposed that the discussion be postponed to order to calm emotions. After the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo, one of the two comrades who had provoked the incident in 1963 said, according to the minutes at a meeting of the Basic Organization of LCY Officials of the SAP of Kosovo in Organs and Organizations of the Federation, on 9 February 1982 in Belgrade, which were quoted by Djakovic: "...The Platform (of the CC of the LCY concerning Kosovo) did not answer some fundamental questions, and this is a problem. Some historical wartime documents will have to be dealt with... There must be discussions of resolutions of the First Conference of the NLC of Kosovo and Metohija, held in 1943-1944... Do we want to ignore these documents completely? What does it mean to deny discussions in which demands were made that Kosovo be a republic?"

In the book "Sukobi na Kosovo," Spasoje Djakovic talks about a discussion in Tirane in which he was engaged as representative of state security of Kosovo and Metohija with the Albanian minister of internal affairs and organizational secretary of the CC of the CPA, Koci Dzodze, immediately before the announcement of the Resolution of the Information Bureau. Dzodze was interested in a great number of comrades from Kosovo and Metohija--acquaintances from the war years. Concerning one comrade, Dzodze said to Djakovic with astonishment: "Enver (Hodza) has received a bundle of reports from him in which he denounced the party organization of Kosovo and Metohija, stressing his great dissatisfaction with their work in general, and with the great number arrested and executed in particular. Did the Department for the Security of the People [DSP] of Kosovo and Metohija know that these reports were being sent to Enver?" Djakovic notes that he answered that it did not know... "On the table in Koci's office, where this meeting was being held, there were some of these reports from Kosovo and Metohija which had been delivered to Enver. He showed me the reports, I examined them and saw the unpleasant truth." When, in Djakovic's presence, the then secretary of the Regional Committee of the CPY informed the comrade in question with the information from Tirane, he, pale and upset, acknowledged it, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Yugoslavia was informed about it. Nothing happened, since the "unbreakable" Yugoslav-Albanian friendship was still in effect. It passed without a fuss even when officers of Sigurimi would not hand over their contacts from Djakovic's district to the State Security Administration [SSA] of Kosovo and Metohija.

## No Names

"Why are there no names?" I recently asked Djakovic in Belgrade.

"First of all, because the book certainly would not have been published. In question are several prominent personalities in our political system. I know them, but those who are more responsible and more important than I also know

them well. Names would have only led to incidents and to adventurous public accusations, and I wanted the book to make a full contribution to a more successful resolution of the situation. Nevertheless, from many years of experience, it was obvious to me that the political effect would be incomparably more powerful if, instead of almost 3,000 persons punished who were put on trial (2,000 for violations, 800 for criminal charges), a group of a few real inspirators who had indeed been responsible for engaging in irredentism had been put on trial. I lived in Kosovo for a long time--the Albanians are a good people. If my book had spread mistrust or in any other way separated Serbs and Montenegrins from Albanians, I would have perhaps been more in the wrong than Albanian nationalists. The Albanian people themselves should realize that irredentism is their enemy--it protects, or fights for acquiring, its own interests. Only when the last Albanian farmer, worker, schoolboy, and student has accepted this will the battle be won and will Albanian communists easily, and without fear, be able to say the names I have kept secret!

"My main idea was to present the propaganda of irredentism in the proper light, how it says it is the defender of the Albanian people and a fighter against all injustices which were committed against them in prewar and postwar Yugoslavia (up to the Brionski plenum). I am preparing a special book on the Kosovo counterrevolution of 1944-45. Even today people often pervert its causes. And in spite of the fact that Kosovo and Metohija was a powerful base for the occupier during the war, I know that during the liberation not many people were executed throughout Kosovo and Metohija--not as many as, say, in the Nis district."

Back on the eve of the war, Spasoje Djakovic was a prominent party worker in Kosovo. In Vis, in the summer of 1944, Djakovic was appointed as a member of the Bureau of the Party Regional Committee for Kosovo and Metohija and as the director of the DSP-SSA for Kosovo and Metohija. For 20 years he was a representative in the Federal Assembly, member of the CC of the Communist Party of Serbia, and republic secretary for administration of justice; for many years was deputy federal public prosecutor (a post from which he retired two years ago).

Although he has long been in contact with conditions in Kosovo, he preferred to deal with documents now little-known, rather than with his own personal recollections, in the book "Sukobi na Kosovu." "When the demonstrations and counterrevolutions broke out in 1981, it seemed to me that I had died and been reborn. In the federal prosecutor's office we had no data on the nature of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, nor was anything in preparation. Do people know that party and government leadership officially reported that they were surprised?" Autonomy of perspective was understood as having strict control over data and information which was to arrive in Belgrade. Both Albanian and Serb cadres bear responsibility for this."

"For ten years, Mahmut Bakali was president of the Provincial Committee of the LCY of Kosovo, and at the same time a member of the Presidency of the CC of the LCY," according to Djakovic in his book. "He gathered around himself young people, the sons of our wartime comrades and their generation, and he

made it possible for them to have the most responsible duties in ideological and propaganda employment in the Provincial Committee of the LCY, SAWPY, the press, radio, television, publishing activities, and at the University in Kosovo. He had a great influence on all these young people. This group of young and misguided people was the clenched fist of the irredentist will. With great care Mahmut Bakali backed Dr Alija Hadrija, giving him unlimited opportunities in politics and other areas to set up scientific institutes and publishing houses so that irredentists would have a chance to engage in activities legally in them. It was the same thing with a number of cadres who were involved with science."

Djakovic annotates his own words by saying: "In the beginning, Bakali was oriented towards Yugoslavia, until he became subject to a certain state of mind and to the clearly expressed relationship of political forces."

#### Dr Hodza's Discoveries

Dr Hajredin Hodza evaluates the Bujane conference completely differently than does Djakovic in the book "Afirmacija albanske nacionalnosti u Jugoslaviji/Staljinisticki nacionalizam i irredentizam u Albaniji" ["Affirmation of the Albanian Nationality in Yugoslavia/Stalinist Nationalism and Irredentism in Albania"] (Rilindija, Pristina). For him it was revolutionary, and in the spirit of the resolutions of the ACNLY, because it recognized the right of all nationalities in Kosovo "to self-determination up to the right of secession."

In his book, published without an editor, reviewer, and table of contents, Hodza proceeds from the fact that, during the period from 1912 to the beginning of the Second World War, colonization by Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo was a continuing process, and that the Albanian people had the most difficult situation in bourgeois Yugoslavia. For all his claims, his main source in his own doctoral thesis which was received in 1973 in Ljubljana. Nevertheless, during this rather long period Hodza was not able to count more than 40,000 Serbs and Montenegrins who colonized the area. He talks about the terror and atrocities committed by Serbian and Montenegrin soldiers against the Albanian people during the Balkan War and the First World War, nowhere mentioning what the nature of these conflicts were, nor to what extent those who belonged to the other side suffered in them, and he especially disregards the Albanian golgothas for Serbian soldiers. Between the two wars, he continues, a policy of total elimination of Albanians from the soil of Yugoslavia was carried out. Pressure was put on Tirane to accept a certain number of the emigrees, and in 1938 an agreement was signed with Turkey which provided for the expulsion of 250,000 Albanians, with a secret supplement to provide for 400,000. Hozda adds that Dr Vasa Cubrilovic, for example, in his articles recommended spreading religious and national hatred for the Albanian Moslems, as well as continually harassing, mistreating, and offending them in every way. He indifferently admits that the war prevented all these planned reprisals because of the efforts of "the masses of the Albanian nationality."

According to Hodza, Kosovo entered into the structure of Yugoslavia after the Second World War only on a temporary basis, "until a Balkan federation is

created, when it will be annexed to Albania." "...At the insistence of the leadership of Kosovo and Metohija, especially that of Miladin Popovic and Fadilj Hodza; the CC of the CPY and Comrade Tito decided to affirm legally and politically the autonomy of Kosovo, which had already created during the war, in the new Yugoslav federation. Because we used the experience of the USSR with regard to constitutional structure, in which the autonomous republics and regions were attached to the federal republics, it was necessary to decide to which federal unit the autonomy of Kosovo and Metohija should belong, which had been directly connected to the leadership of the federation during the war."

And regarding this matter, Hodza expects us to take him at his word, contrary to well-known documents which say something else. Throughout the whole book he severely clashes with the spirit of Aleksandar Rankovic, having revealed that he had had his fractional group since 1951; accordingly, Hodza treats him as if he is the worse enemy of the nation after that time.

The fact that in the second part of the book-- "Staljinisticki nacionalizam i iredentizam u Albaniji--" Dr Hajredin Hodza passes to Enver Hodza, to his fetishization and idealization of the Albanian nation, and to false Marxist-Leninism, attests more to the existence of two visions of the "Great Albania" than to an unambiguous appraisal of it.

#### Socialism in the Middle-Ages

In his book "Kontrarevolucija na Kosovu" ["Counterrevolution in Kosovo"] (Zadruga, Belgrade), which is written from a completely different point of view, Dr Muhamed Kesetovic says that resolutions of the second meeting of the ACNLY were acknowledged in Bujane.

What ever Enver Hodza was not able to do over a period of decades despite superhuman efforts, the publishing firm Cankarjeva založba of Ljubljana has done, and that is, gather all 6 million dispersed Albanians together in one place, albeit in a book.

The book "Albanci" ["The Albanians"] has stirred up the public, been unanimously condemned, and was finally withdrawn from sale in order to correct some technical errors. Namely, Serbs are absent from a table on the statistical representation of peoples in Yugoslavia.

Simultaneously, preparations for a Serbo-Croatian edition in Zagreb have been suspended.

In the words of the editor of the book, Janez Stanic, it ought to fill in the gaps in information which exist in Slovenia concerning the "events in Kosovo" and the large Albanian nationality group; in addition, this information is devoid of excess emotionality, to which, according to what they think in Ljubljana, articles in the Belgrade press are subject. The book was published in collaboration with the Kosovo Academy of Arts and Sciences, which selected the majority of the authors. Stanic, a prominent foreign policy journalist and writer of the brilliant book on contemporary socialism,

"Raspuca komunizma" ["Crossroads of Communism"], readily recognizes the national romanticism which is characteristic of official Albanian propaganda in the included articles, but does not want to interfere. He thinks that precisely this point of view will contribute to the book being a means of depicting a level of awareness and a transplanted view of the world which has necessarily led to counterrevolution.

Preparations have been going on for as much as three to four years, and at present Stanic regrets that chapters on culture, ethnology and ethnography of the Albanian people have not arrived. He says: "This is not a book on Kosovo. That is why it is absurd to try to find some sort of national parity in it. There are no Serbs simply because they are not the theme of the book. We wanted to see what Albanians themselves think about Albanians, here and now, and because of this we exclusively and without any evil intentions, published their "child-like" national mistakes. In some articles it is inferred that back in the middle ages the broad masses of Albanians were for socialism, self-management, and equality between peoples. The man who wrote this has the credentials of a scientist of the highest order in our circles. It is not my intention to carry out cadre reform in a Kosovo academy, nor to deprive Albanian scientists of their degrees. But for this reason, the book "Albanci" poses the question much more strictly and graphically than all the well-intentioned resolutions, how it is possible for the least-developed and least-democratic country in Europe to become the ideal for a not insignificant group of our citizens."

Kosovo's problems also look completely different from observation posts at different republics and provinces.

Albaniology was the main theme of last season, even in cases in which it was really concerned with the level of our obstinately held misunderstandings, or with the ongoing controversy over "too little or too much emotion." But before the outbreak of the demonstrations in 1981, treatment of the entire problem in the Serbo-Croatian language throughout all of written history--believe it or not--consisted of three books. The already classic works of Dimitrij Tucovic ("Srbija i Albanija" ["Serbia and Albania"]) and Branislav Nusic ("S Kosova na Sinje more" ["From Kosovo to the Blue Sea"]), written at the beginning of the century, and Dediđer's anthology on Yugoslav-Albanian relationships, published in 1948.

Oral local literature on Albanians in Kosovo, honestly speaking, has for centuries failed to go beyond the limits of a few national stereotypes which deal with white kece [woolen, hemispherical caps], the high birthrate, poverty, solemn oaths, the blood feud, and zurles--all transplanted in the kindred environment of Serbian monasteries from the middle-ages--the aroma of Kosovo peonies and the mythical Kosovo field.

And in spite of the enormous efforts and material resources of the Yugoslav community which have been invested in order to develop Kosovo as rapidly as possible, problems have piled up and multiplied more than they have been resolved. Local bureaucracy, craving only unlimited personal power, has from the beginning preferred "autonomy" to real equality and the advancement

of the Albanian people. National interest is used as a pretext for the most basic class and material interests. In this way, the masses have been made to direct their objective dissatisfactions against the non-Albanian population, instead of venting all their anger against the local "sub-pashas"--who are really to blame for the unhappy state of affairs in Kosovo.

Exclusiveness and "autonomy" have reached the point in which every discussion about Kosovo which has taken place over the last several years has seemed to be aggressive interference in the internal politics of "other countries." Silence, it would appear, is golden.

As soon as the situation broke out, POLITIKA quickly published the pamphlet "Sta se dogodilo na Kosovu" ["What Happened in Kosovo"], and Tanjug published the book "Albanija Envera Hodze" ["The Albania of Enver Hodza"]. The discovery of a completely new world began, and the surprise was certainly greater than that of Columbus when he arrived at the new continent.

The first novels about emigration from Kosovo appeared ("Korak vuka" ["Stride of the Wolf"] and "Prodan na Kosovu" ["Betrayed in Kosovo"], Bozidar Milidragovic), as well as a thematic edition of the journal RASKOVNIK; the film "Opasni trag" ["Dangerous Trail"], about events which preceded the demonstrations, immediately began playing at the movie theaters...

A more thorough explanation is already in the works, although at the beginning it was apparent to everyone that there was not a small handful of mercenaries belonging to foreign special services behind all of this. It was also quite apparent that it was not the work of a solitary Enver Hodza.

And from a quick glance at the plans of our publishing firms, it is clear that the story has only begun, and that in 1985 the theme for the year will not change.

#### Day of Reports from Tirane

Pero Zlatar had the rare opportunity of visiting this arbitrary and self-loving bunker of authentic Marxism and Leninism five times. He recently published two books "Glasnik iz Tirana" ["Messenger from Tirane"] and "Gospodar Zemlje orlova" ["Master of the Land of Eagles"] in an edition by Graficki zavod of Croatia.

The second Zlatar book, "Gospodar Zemlje orlova," is a unique political sketch of Enver Hodza. It begins with the pompous celebration of his 75th birthday in 1983 and follows his life in detail, through education in Paris, service in the Albanian embassy in Brussels, and the joint military struggle with Yugoslav communists. After the Information Bureau resolution, he engages in his first great blood purge, which immediately becomes a method of periodic personal hygiene. In his independent struggle against "imperialism, socio-imperialism, and revisionism (Titoism, Krushevism, Eurocommunism, and Maoism), he firmly believes that only he is right. "Me against the world!"

Concerning one of the most prominent Albanian generals and ministers in the Shkrupej government who was able to avoid certain death by fleeing to Yugoslavia in 1957, Zlatar writes: "At a moment of emotional crisis, Panajot Pljaku killed himself in Belgrade, where he was buried on 13 July 1966. The Yugoslav newspaper noted his death, but avoided the detail of his suicide."

#### Unopened Telegram

From Pljaku's memoirs and a statement by his common-law wife, Marija Simic, one deduces that he died of a heart attack. In addition to this, it was not even quite certain whether, with a tactical regard for the Hodza regime, Panajot Pljaku's urn was ever laid to rest. It is also not known which administrator has his journal.

Twenty years later, or thereabouts, Pljaku's memoirs "Nasilje nad albanskom revolucijom" ["Violence against the Albanian Revolution"] (Narodna knjiga, Belgrade) appeared, without any details about his escape and his life in Yugoslavia. His friends recall that he was depressed because of the highly uncertain fate of his wife and three children. According to what was written in Albanian newspapers, his mother, two sisters, and brother voluntarily disowned him. They printed a statement made by his mother: "Damn the milk with which I nurtured him, damn my affection when he was a child. Let him die like a dog!" While in Belgrade, Pljaku worked at the Institute for the International Workers' Movement, and on Albanian-language radio broadcasts.

"In my country, the revolution has not been destroyed," Panajot Pljaku begins in his memoirs. "I am certain that the revolutionary spirit has not ceased to exist and I am deeply convinced that socialism, with all of the humanism it contains, will again prosper. I have no intention of mourning the revolution in Albania, nor is it necessary for me to do so. In spite of sustaining difficult blows, it lives and will continue to live!"

The Central Council of the Yugoslav Red Cross sent a telegram to the Albanian Red Cross in which it requested that the Pljaku family be informed of his death. The telegram was returned unopened, because the recipient refused to accept it.

9548

CSO: 2800/204

YUGOSLAVIA

SERBIAN CHURCH SYNOD LETTER TO FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Belgrade PRAVOSLAVIJE in Serbo-Croatian 15 Feb 85 p 3

[Article by A. Jevtic: "Squeezing the Mosquito and Swallowing the Camel, or the Topic of Jasenovac"]

[Text] Following the consecration of the Church of Holy Latter-Day Martyrs in Jasenovac there were various and diverse comments on this ceremonial gathering of Orthodox believers from all regions of this long-suffering country.

One utterly insolent comment appeared in this connection in the pages of POLET, a youth newspaper in Zagreb. It was an interview with Radovan Samardzic, secretary of the Federal Executive Council [FEC] for relations with religious communities. One of the things Samardzic said on that occasion was that the church, in "wishing to get out of the crisis," had found it convenient "to organize events under the cloak of the mystical, the religious, and so on" and that the church's purpose in this was to "impose its own senile complexes." As is evident, all of this and many other things were uttered by R. Samardzic who holds the official position of FEC secretary for relations with the same churches he is talking about in this way and, of course, with the Serbian Orthodox Church, which is what interests us here. And he uttered all this after such a calm, dignified and truly religious church-gathering of believers in connection with holy martyrs in Jasenovac, that place of torture and martyrdom. It was clear to all of those that this was not just an ordinary "comment," but in fact a direct insult to the shrine of Jasenovac, to the Jasenovac church and synod meeting and service, to the religious sentiments of the religious Orthodox people gathered in Jasenovac, and to the entire Serbian Orthodox Church as soon as this interview appeared in the Zagreb POLET and then when the section most distinguished for its insolence was also published in ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA (9 October 1984). This was also the reason why the Holy Synod of the Serbian Church then sent a letter to the FEC chairman on 11 October 1984 in which he expressed his regrets that as secretary of the FEC Commission for Relations With Religious Communities Radovan Samardzic "had in this way insulted the millions of religious people, the clergy and monastic orders, the bodies and the offices of the Serbian Orthodox Church," and in that letter the Synod informed the FEC chairman that in future it would regard Mr Radovan Samardzic a "undesirable individual--persona non grata--as far as the Serbian Orthodox Church is concerned." (We are printing the entire text of this letter of the Holy Synod at the end.)

However, in the last issue of the newspaper INTERVJU (1 February 1985) a comment (by Radovan Samardzic or the editors?) was published concerning that letter under the title: "Excommunication, Anathema and the Problem of Milka Platinic." There the letter of the Holy Synod was referred to as "an unusual--if not without precedent--move in relations between church and state in the new Yugoslavia." Then a portion of the statement made by R. Samardzic in POLET is quoted as the "reason for such a harsh step," and this is followed by the comment (should we ask once again: of Samardzic or of the editors?). One observation before turning to this comment: the Synod's letter is referred to as an "unusual move and without precedent in relations between church and state in the new Yugoslavia," while this insulting statement by the official representing that same new Yugoslavia, an official in an official body of that same state responsible for relations with the church, is not referred to as "unusual and without precedent." Does this mean that that kind of insulting behavior is "usual and sanctioned by precedent" (or: "by precedents"), to which unfortunately the answer may be affirmative and reiterated.

Yet the very fragment of R. Samardzic's statement carried in INTERVJU was very skillfully shortened and trimmed so that its most insulting part was left out (the one about [""]imposing its own senile complexes"), but it is contained in the letter of the Holy Synod, since it was in the statement of R. Samardzic (in POLET and ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA).

The comment that followed in INTERVJU, after dealing with the truly "delicate question" of how to write and decline Latin phrases--like persona non grata (but it was obviously a typist's error), was precisely this: "this kind of step is equivalent to excommunication (assuming, of course, that Radovan Samardzic was christened)" and further: "this kind of step must seem like an escalation to lay observers. That is, much harsher statements by government officials did not evoke such reactions earlier."

We should note in response to this that the expression used here "excommunication" (the expression "anathema" was even used in the title) is utterly uncalled for, unless this is not merely a new type of irony in making fun of the Synod and the Serbian Church (leaving aside the fact that neither of these expressions was taken either from the vocabulary or from the history of the Serbian Church). After all, to say of an official government officeholder that he is "undesirable" because he has insulted you directly to your face signifies nothing more than what it signifies: that it is not possible to get along with such a man. There is no question here of any kind of "excommunication" (like "expulsion" from the party), nor of any sort of "anathema." Nor indeed is there any "escalation," except solely and truly an escalation of insults to religious sentiments, which is what the Synod letter specifically speaks about. To some extent this is acknowledged by the commentator himself, since he admits that there had in the past been "much harsher (read: more insulting) statements by government officials." If those in similar statements did not previously arouse such reactions on the part of the Holy Synod, that was only proof that the Synod did not wish "escalation" in the otherwise "good relations" between church and state. Now these words concerning Jasenovac have caused too much pain, and that not so much because they insult us believers who are now living, as because they insult the millions of holy victims of Jasenovac.

YUGOSLAVIA

SERBIAN CHURCH PAPER PROTESTS SAMARDZIC STATEMENTS

Belgrade PRAVOSLAVIJE in Serbo-Croatian 15 Feb 85 p 3

[Text] Holy Episcopal Synod  
Serbian Orthodox Church  
No 1934/Record 659  
11 October 1984  
Belgrade

To the chairman of the Federal Executive Council of the SFRY in Belgrade:

The following text was published on p 11 of ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA, No 1353, on 9 October 1984:

"A reporter of POLET says that the expression 'bread and circuses' is imposed as the church's reply to the atheization and desacralization manifested in social developments, on which Radovan Samardzic, a sociologist of religion and secretary of the Commission of the Federal Executive Council for Relations With Religious Communities, comments on as follows:

"This is a way of getting out of the crisis, both the crisis of traditional institutions and also the political and economic crisis. The church wants to get out of the crisis, especially since it is shaken to its foundations. Aside from that the time is rather suitable for organizing events under the cloak of the mystical, the religious, and so on. It is a time of crisis, of political [crisis] unjust [?]. And so long as we are talking about the time in which we live, we know that the church considers that the socialist movement today is no longer offering a vision, that they believe in imposing their own senile complexes. This is a warning, let us say, to the organized socialist forces that we are entering a new phase of the ideological battle in which the church has always been and still is a good medium. It may be that the churches have been drawn in to relations of this kind even against their will, but that they are involved in such relations is a fact. The traditional churches (the Catholic, the Orthodox and the Islamic religious communities) are heavily burdened with the past, with an ethnic mythology or ideology, and I am not certain that they have drawn the right lessons from history. They are still playing around with admixtures of that past. What for us are historical issues are for them questions of the present: the ethnic and mythological question of dynasties, kings, nobility...."

The Holy Episcopal Synod and the Serbian Orthodox Church greatly regret that Mr Radovan Samardzic, secretary of the Commission of the Federal Executive Council for Relations With Religious Communities, has inflicted this great insult on the millions of religious people, the clergy and the monastic orders, the bodies and the offices of the Serbian Orthodox Church.

In this connection we inform you that Mr Radovan Samardzic will in future be considered a persona non grata for the Serbian Orthodox Church.

We have notified the following of this:

All the republic and provincial commissions for relations with religious communities in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and all the eparchic bishops of the Serbian Orthodox Church.

With particular respect

On behalf of the president  
of the Holy Episcopal Synod,  
Bishop Irinej of Nis, member (signed)

7045

CSO: 2800/244

24 April 1985

YUGOSLAVIA

## CHANGES IN LEGISLATION AFFECTING POLITICAL CRIMES URGED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1783, 3 Mar 85  
pp 20-22

[Article by Velizar Zecevic, boxed material by authors as indicated: "When Speech Is Guilty"]

[Text] From what was said at a recent public discussion in Ljubljana convened on this occasion on the topic "Socialist Democracy and Repression" by the Center for Marxism of the Slovenian SSO [Socialist Youth League], our society should open itself up to conflict, and the conflict of opinions represents an opening of the door to development, opening up a way out of the present difficult economic situation. As Darko Strajn, president of the Slovenian Sociological Society, stressed, the dual division into those who are for us and those who are against us smothers the pluralism which is our reality.

The point at issue is where the limit of the danger to society is located, how is it to be defined in legislation without at the same time threatening the basic human rights and liberties, the freedom of thought, creativity and the freedom of the press, which is one of the basic forms of freedom today (Mitja Dajzinger, deputy public prosecutor of the Republic of Slovenia). In other words, what sort of repression and how much repression are necessary to protect our self-managed and socialist society?

This is only a small part of the related set of issues raised in the Ljubljana discussions concerning the verbal political crime.

## The Right Measure of Repression

Proceedings to amend the Slovenian Criminal Code are beginning at this moment, Mitja Dajzinger also declared in a recent public discussion in the Delegate's Club in Ljubljana. Moreover, the delegates of SR [Socialist Republic] Slovenia will initiate changes of SFRY legislation with respect to political crimes. The Slovenian delegates will advocate changes of the SFRY Criminal Code in the specialized commissions (proposals have been made to the political authorities in the Federation, the LCY Central Committee and the Federal Conference of the SAWP). The Slovenian delegates are preparing a similar initiative in the competent committees and chambers of the SFRY Assembly. The Slovenian delegates,

according to DELO of Ljubljana in an article entitled "Addendum to the Discussion of the Political Crime" (written by Dr Ljubo Bavcon, professor), will have full political support of the Slovenian public and all the specialized briefs in favor of the views and practice they will be advocating.

Dr Ljubo Bavcon, professor and head of the Department of Criminal Law of the School of Law at Ljubljana University, was in fact a distinguished participant in the recent public discussion as well as in the discussion of the Slovenian Republic Conference of the SAWP. His opinion, expressed to Dusa Damjanovic and approved by the author for NIN, represents the Slovenian views and demands that the political crime be formulated and treated more correctly in our criminal legislation.

"The discussion on the topic 'Socialist Democracy and Repression' does not in my opinion raise the issue: repression--yes or no, but the issue of the moral justifiability or legitimacy and the right measure of repressive infringements on human rights and freedoms," Dr Bavcon said. It is obvious that in our present situation this issue can be raised in both the broad and narrow senses. In the broad sense the issue of the justifiability and right measure of repression is one of the decisive questions in the development of socialism in general. But it should immediately be said that this issue does not come down merely to punitive repression, but covers all its well-known forms such as ideological, political and all other repression.

It should accordingly be emphasized that the conception in criminal policy, technical lawmaking and legal theory represented by the group of crimes contained in Title 15 of the SFRY Criminal Code (Crimes Against the Foundations of the Socialist System of Self-Management and the Security of the SFRY) is based partly on one which was the product of a one-party, monistic and monopolistic (exclusivistic) ideology. That conception and institutionalization of socialism were rejected in our country soon after the conflict with the Cominform, but no essential change has taken place in criminal legislation in spite of certain efforts. On the one hand the argument prevailed that it is a question of protecting extremely important values, so that all and every kind of repressive means and instrument of criminal law is justified, while on the other the consolation won out that the harsh and dubious provisions are rarely applied in practice, so that this "issue" should be studied more thoroughly before anything at all is changed.

#### It Is Time for a Change

But now the time has come, at least in my judgment, when the contradictions should be removed between the political system of democratic socialist self-management and certain restrictions of our people's liberties and rights which are not only unnecessary, but are in fact harmful when indirectly or directly they prevent the mobilization of all the creative and democratic people devoted to socialism, although that kind of mobilization is the only thing that can pull us out of this crisis of ours.

In my opinion criminal law should limit itself to protecting the foundations of the social system and to protecting the external security of the SFRY. And

it should renounce use of the criminal law to protect the "prevailing" ideology and its theoretical and philosophical background and the protection of day-to-day short-term policy and its mottoes.

Finally, we should state which are the debatable crimes in Title 15 of the SFRY Criminal Code. In my opinion the question mark does not apply to all the so-called verbal crimes, since under certain conditions an idea may in fact be a bomb, but a distinction has to be made between the bomber's violent "political" activity from political activity which is neither violent nor does it incite to violence. I must likewise note that it is not only the verbal political crimes in that title which are in dispute.

The crime of "counterrevolutionary action threatening the social system," contained in Article 114 of the SFRY Criminal Code, is in dispute; it is actually an illustration of the assertion that it is not only the verbal crimes which are at issue. A correct explication of the provision of Article 114 shows that this is a crime which by its nature cannot be verbal at all, since we are dealing here with a joining of crimes which earlier legal theory and legislation referred to as high treason and betrayal of the homeland. How this can be done with speech, with the written word, and so on, is a secret withheld from me, but it is no secret that Dr Seselj was convicted in the first instance under this article until the Bosnia-Herzegovina Supreme Court corrected the error.

#### The Crimes at Issue

At issue, then, is the crime of "hostile propaganda" contained in Article 133 of the SFRY Criminal Code. The provision in the definition of this article that is most debatable is that a prison sentence of not less than 1 and not more than 10 years may be pronounced upon someone who "maliciously and untruthfully portrays sociopolitical conditions in the country." I am convinced that that provision is a typical example of "incrimination of critical opinion" and I therefore feel that it should be thrown out. Changes are also necessary in the first part of Paragraph 1 of that article.

The provision of Paragraph 2 of Article 135 and the provision of Article 136, for example, also deserve a thorough examination. I would also like to mention Article 125 on terrorism, which is now quite insufficient, Dr Ljubo Bavcon said in conclusion.

This is the position on the verbal political crime which has taken firm shape in the public discussions held so far in Slovenia and which will be taken by the Slovenian delegates arguing in the political bodies of the Federation for amendment of this section of our criminal legislation.

An initiative to amend two articles of Title 15 of the Criminal Code of Yugoslavia has even in the past taken up some space in the newspapers, timidly as it might have been. At two recent conferences of experts in the field of criminal law in Skoplje and Herceg-Novı, the voices in favor of the criminal accountability of verbal (written or uttered) propagation of ideas which do not fit exactly comfortably in the space marked off by the fundamental values

of Yugoslav society have mainly been isolated, and everything always ended in rejoinders which signified an end to the debate which had begun.

The concept of "hostile propaganda" is directly related to the term "enemy," an attribute of negative implication which in political terminology is sometimes used broadly and vaguely, but does not arise out of the legislative sphere. In common parlance the word "enemy" can as a rule be attributed without great risk to persons convicted of political crimes, usually those brought into conflict with the law through one of the two articles of the Criminal Code which are most frequently discussed in this connection: Article 133, which covers what is called hostile propaganda, and Article 114, which defines the crime of counterrevolutionary action threatening the social system.

Although the practice of the courts in the domain of political crime is not especially rich (few verdicts), they say in the courts that the vagueness of the legal phrasing makes it difficult to apply these two articles. How is one to recognize an enemy, i.e., the perpetrator of a crime, if the very heart of the crime, the line between lawfulness and unlawfulness, is to be sought in uttered or written words?

Zoran Stojkovic, the judge in the Belgrade District Court who recently convicted Milic, Nikolic and Olujic, feels that "there are problems just as in applying provisions for other crimes."

#### Desirable and Undesirable Propaganda

"There is an additional problem," Zoran Stojkovic told NIN, "in that hostile propaganda is similar to certain other crimes such as a counterrevolutionary threat to the social system, provocation of ethnic, racial and religious enmity, discord or intolerance, injury to the reputation of the SFRY; and in practice this sometimes results in mistaken application of Article 114 of the Criminal Code."

With respect to this crime the statement, i.e., the contents of the statement, must be carefully evaluated and a judgment made as to whether the statement constitutes propaganda, as to what the perpetrator's purpose was, and so on. It is certain that it is very important to determine precisely the boundary beyond which abuse of propaganda takes place.

I think that the existence of the verbal crime in general should not be called into question, since as a rule certain other crimes are also committed through propaganda (provocation of ethnic enmity). It is a question of standards for protecting this society's important values. Even those who dispute the need for the existence of the crime contained in Article 133 of the Criminal Code do not contest the need for the existence of insult, slander and other verbal crimes, although these crimes involve less danger to society, Judge Stojkovic said.

The courts, Zoran Stojkovic said, are required to apply the law, and that means that in making a specific decision the court does not make an assessment as to whether a particular norm is right or not. Yet when called upon to

state his opinion on the crime of hostile propaganda, Zoran Stojkovic said this:

"The provision concerning the crime of hostile propaganda has been updated several times. The last updating actually supplemented that provision by making it a crime to portray social and political conditions in the country maliciously and untruthfully. One should probably seek the cause of those changes in the great importance which propaganda activity has in the shaping of public opinion. Propaganda may also be constructive if it is used to propagate desirable values and ideas.

"Since our constitution has set forth the conception of a socialist self-managed society, propagating the ideas and values and the utterance of critical opinion and everything that would signify a further development of that concept of society are undoubtedly necessary. However, there is a possibility that propaganda may be abused. This dare not be neglected, since as a rule indoctrination precedes action, and very often action takes the form of violence. The events in 1981 furnished us assurances of that.

"It is obvious that the main problem in defining limits occurs when propaganda passes over from desirable activity to abuse. The amendments of the article concerning the crime of hostile propaganda indicate that in making them the legislator was mindful of precisely what I have said," Judge Stojkovic concluded.

Criminal accountability for hostile propaganda arouses doubts in at least two directions, equally in those who dispute the possibility of a verbal crime and those who feel that this type of crime is a political reality today. Both groups often say that making hostile propaganda a crime is an integral part of political repression in general, and that the one (prosecution of hostile propaganda) will last just as long as the other (political repression).

All hold the common conviction that political repression is being constantly adapted to the conditions and needs of society. Political crime, according to these opinions, is above all a reflection of political currents and an expression of political life, and therefore assessments of the importance of verbal political crimes also range from the position that the danger of political crimes is exaggerated to the warning that prosecutors and courts are not prosecuting them as much as they should.

However, is there also a direct influence of political forums and influential individuals on prosecutors' offices and the courts? A subtle answer to that question was made some 3 years ago by Vuko Goce Gucetic in the discussion already mentioned:

"Before deciding on prosecution the prosecutor must carefully examine every admonition of the highest government and party authorities, to seek their attitude, but not the opinion of individual politicians regardless of the high position they hold, and then he should decide on his own."

## The Opinion of Lawyers

As we know, along with the accused and the judge, the defense counsel also has an important role in a court trial. It is difficult, say the defense attorneys, to reduce the broadly conceived definition of certain verbal political crimes onto the terrain of relevant facts which could decisively influence the sentence or an acquittal. We talked about this with two Belgrade lawyers who until recently were high bar officials, and both of them have experience in defending persons charged with verbal political crimes.

Attorney Slobodan Soskic does not doubt that there is a need to treat as a crime "behavior which threatens a particular social value that is part of the socioeconomic system and order."

"The crime of hostile propaganda is sometimes given an extremely vulgar interpretation in practice. That is why convictions have been brought down in some utterly banal cases even when there could not have been even an abstract danger to the social system or political system. Such cases lead one to reflect on whether the legal formulation is clear and whether or not it contradicts man's right to thought and conviction.

"It is a characteristic of that crime that it's consequences need not be realized concretely. It is sufficient for there to have been an abstract danger to the things being protected, i.e., for there to have been only the possibility of a danger arising. It is possible to understand and justify this, but in the definition of the act of committing this crime there should be as little opportunity as possible for arbitrary conclusions as to whether it has been committed or not.

"Another form of commission of this crime is defined in law as 'malicious and untruthful portrayal of sociopolitical conditions in the country.' This makes it possible to describe as a crime any article, drawing, leaflet, speech or other activity which in the view of the prosecuting agency and the courts constitutes malicious and untruthful portrayal of sociopolitical conditions in the country.

"In my opinion," Sosic says, "it is a very relative matter to ascertain whether there exists malicious or bad intent so that this form of commission of a crime passes beyond even the tolerance of criminal law in its stretchability. The governing principle in criminal law is to be as restrictive as possible in defining the type of behavior regarded as criminal. This is one of the reasons why it is necessary to amend the crime of hostile propaganda to entirely omit or define more precisely the way in which it is committed."

Attorney Branislav Tapuskovic feels that the "verbal political crime" (uttered or written words) is contrary to the basic spirit of the Criminal Code and to its principles.

"A crime is manifested through an act," Tapuskovic says, "and through the consequence of that act. It may be committed even by noncommission of something which should have been done and certain consequences came about thereby.

"Then the attitude of the perpetrator's consciousness toward his own act is ascertained. The mere intention to do something is not sufficient for the existence of criminal behavior.

"Uttered or written words ought not to be defined as a crime by the Criminal Code unless those words incite to violence or the insulting nature of those words is altogether recognizable. For example, I cannot conceive what danger to society can come from untruths. Can we combat opinions based on untruths, regardless of whether they have been used intentionally or in error, with the Criminal Code? In any case, if only untruth is accessible to the public, if, that is, there is no truthful information which is in opposition to it, is this not a sign that social institutions required to present the truth about their own work or about the situation in the country have failed, that they have not discharged their constitutional obligation?"

The differing opinions of the two Belgrade attorneys on this delicate topic are no exception at all: the differences are also obvious when judges and other lawyers, political officials, people in different specialties and people of different levels of education talk about the "verbal political crime." Isn't this sufficient reason for the recurrence of debates about these crimes from time to time, accompanied by more or less new arguments, and sometimes even bitterness?

In any case, the "Slovenian initiative" to amend certain legal provisions demonstrates that the "future of new discussions of the crime of thought has already begun."

[Box, pp 20-21]

Slobodan I. Soskic: How One Becomes Malicious

We are inclined to judge people by what they say, not by what they actually do, which is why sometimes we take precisely those who have bad intentions from the standpoint of their political motives as the friends of the social system and the political system, although in essence they are not friends and remain advocates of the further development of self-management socialism only in the verbal sphere. At the same time we may expose those who are "clumsier" to criminal prosecution and the sufferings that derive therefrom when the balance of power between the individual and a certain group in which he lives and operates is not to his advantage. This means that it is possible to manipulate someone's conscientious and unmalicious statement, asserting that his article or speech concerning sociopolitical conditions in the country is not truthful and is malicious. Critical thought in such situations can suffer the fate of malicious thought, especially when one bears in mind that it is virtually impossible to speak truthfully about sociopolitical conditions in the country.

This impossibility arises out of the circumstance that there are a great many conditions and situations difficult to verify or even unprovable, which still does not give anyone the right to assert that they are untruthful. However,

anyone who is charged with the crime of hostile propaganda could be acquitted if he proved that he wrote or spoke truthfully about something, which ultimately comes down to an absurd situation that this cannot be proven by a single valid piece of evidence, although the circumstances suspected to be untruthful are more or less present as such in reality.

Which is why there is a great risk involved in the existence of this form of crime of hostile propaganda of "malicious and untruthful portrayal of socio-political conditions in the country," since it is difficult to ascertain the true boundary between necessary critical thought and malicious and untruthful portrayal of reality. The danger of criminal prosecution for that form of the crime of hostile propaganda exists for everyone, but it is objectively less for those whose social status in and of itself determines the quality of their good intent. That is why those who because of their personal social prestige can in no case see themselves as a possible perpetrator will probably not agree when they reflect on this crime. However, they are also in error, since it is only a question of a moment when certain powerful individuals or groups could see them as persons of hostile orientation who because of some verbal utterance or article might be seen as harboring malicious and hostile motives.

We should not believe in any magic power of the court to correctly and reliably establish every case of hostile propaganda in criminal law. On the contrary, precisely because of this kind of delicate formulation of that form of crime and because of the impossibility of the accused proving that everything he presented in his speech or article was truthful there is objectively a great risk of an innocent person being convicted. In any case, I do not feel that the verbal crime should by definition be removed from the realm of criminal law outside protection of the social system and political system, since this would be to negate an objective examination of relations in human society.

[Box, p 22]

Branislav Tapuskovic: I Think That You Thought

The delicate and sometimes unpleasant role of the defense attorney in a trial for "verbal crimes" is especially manifested in those cases, rare to be sure, when literary works are being judged. The metaphorical and associative nature of literature makes it difficult and sometimes even impossible to understand the work, and I think it is altogether unsuitable, politically untenable for a court to bring its attention to bear on only one of several possible lines of reflection or only one of an infinite number of associations.

I defended one such case, it had to do with poems. The poet did not accept one and only one meaning of his lines, several literary authorities examined during the trial said that there was ambiguity in the lines. And the literary critics also took that view.

Yet the court found there was room for the poet's criminal accountability. The judge obviously applied the principle that if a poet has not explicitly written that he thought precisely what is punishable, if he does not accept

one and only one meaning of his lines, I the judge think that the poet did think that and I am therefore punishing him.

Let us bear in mind that the trial was not conducted to ban the book, but rather criminal proceedings were brought against the author because of the associations which the indictment and then the court found in the lines. Isn't this after all absurd? Would there have been a "verbal crime" in this case if some other prosecutor or judge had had different associations?

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YUGOSLAVIA

ALBANIAN HISTORIAN REFUTES 'DISTORTIONS' OF LCY POLICY

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16-17 Mar 85 p 2

[Article by Dr Hajredin Hodza: "Distortion of the LCY's Nationality Policy"]

[Text] "I doubt that a man who does not love his own people  
can love any other." (Tito)

I begin my answer to the criticism of my book by the Prof Dr Ilija Vukovic with the statement of Tito's given above, since I am deeply convinced that my critic does not grasp the essence of this statement of Tito's, since he calls upon me not to refer to party documents, which support the idea of affirmation of the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia but that I write about Albanians as he does in a spirit of underestimation. As far as that goes, I am sincerely convinced that only a true patriot can value and truly love all other peoples and nationalities, and conversely, only a true internationalist and humanist can make the greatest contribution to his own people and nationality.

I feel a duty to explain to BORBA's esteemed readers why I reflected for a long time over whether to respond to Dr I. Vukovic's criticism of my book. The principal reasons for that hesitation were the following:

Enigmatic Views

1. Dr I. Vukovic perhaps has a good knowledge of his specialty, but it is obvious from what he wrote about my book that he does not possess the necessary Marxist knowledge of the nationality question for our dialogue to be fruitful and at the necessary scientific level.

In taking scientific views in my book I relied on the doctrines of the nationality question of the classics of Marxism, the revolutionaries and theorists of our working class movement, the positions taken in party and constitutional documents of our country and empirical facts concerning the process of the ethnic affirmation of the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia. However, in arguing against my book Dr I. Vukovic does not take those sources as his basis, but rather his own enigmatic views, and he renders condemnatory judgments of my book on the basis of his own prejudices about Albanians. His insufficient knowledge of Marxism is also confirmed by the assertion that Marxism negates the right of ethnic minorities to self-determination, whereby he clearly shows

that at the very least he has given Lenin's book "Kolonijalno i nacionalno pitanje" [The Colonial Question and the Nationality Question], where his affirmative position on this question of ethnic minorities is clearly expressed.

I should mention that I have been studying the nationality question for about a quarter of a century, especially the problem of ethnic minorities and affirmation of the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia, and I have participated with my contributions at many Yugoslav and international scientific meetings on the nationality question which were not attended by Dr I. Vukovic. Likewise, the Social Sciences Institute in Belgrade recently compiled a bibliography of writings on the nationality question in which Dr I. Vukovic is not mentioned as an author.

2. The next reason for my hesitating about entering into a dispute with Dr I. Vukovic has to do with his nihilistic method of carrying on a dialogue with my book. That is, he does not apply the Marxist critical method, which first ascertains what is constructed in a scientific work, and then afterward examines what is its weakness, and on the basis of all that indicates the scientific way of overcoming the shortcomings found in the given work.

In his analysis of my book Dr I. Vukovic does not adhere to these scientific rules and the ethical code of objectivity, propriety and mutual respect among colleagues. In the 208 pages of my book, which is mainly devoted to the great historical achievements of the Albanian nationality in the SFRY and to a closely argued opposition to Albanian nationalism and irredentism, he sees nothing constructive or affirmative, but finds everything to be distorted and off the mark. He has hardly anything favorable to say about the Albanian minority in Yugoslavia, and he is very inclined to see only nationalism and irredentism in it and only the "dark side" of its life.

#### Trumped-Up Condemnations

Although in one of his articles Dr I. Vukovic rightly refers to Richelieu's warning: "Give me only one sentence from anyone's text (work), it will be enough for me to hang the author with," in his heedless criticism of my book he commits the flagrant error which Richelieu warned of. Dr I. Vukovic showed himself to be a past "master" fabricating condemnatory judgments conceived in advance of my views and conclusions, which he does even on the basis of a single word or an incomplete sentence or by adding or taking away words or by taking away words or parts of sentences in my text which were within quotation marks. Thus in the article in BORBA he is allegedly quoting me: "All Kosovo party members of Albanian nationality have always vigorously rejected the alternative so that there could be unification with Albania." The words "all" and "so that there could be unification with Albania" were artificially inserted in the quote, and a series of words and parts of the sentence were omitted from the authentic text of my sentence, and that without inserting three dots in the middle of the sentence, which is mandatory in quoting. So that the reader and especially the conscientious scientist might see the falsification of what I said by Dr I. Vukovic, I will give the authentic sentence from the text of my book, which reads: "It should be clearly emphasized here that the CPY and Kosovo party members of Albanian nationality have always

vigorously objected the alternative of irredentism, whose aim was by a forcible change of borders and by setting the Albanian people in opposition to the nationalities of Yugoslavia to achieve unification of the Albanian people in Yugoslavia and Albania."

3. One important reason why I held back for a long time from entering into a dispute with Dr I. Vukovic is his method of discrediting people in terms of political ideology without backing up his charges, which he did not only to me as the author of the book, but also to numerous revolutionary personnel in Kosovo, especially those of Albanian nationality.

For example, in making a frontal attack on the 1st Conference of the National Liberation Committee of Kosovo and Metohija, which was held in late 1943 and early 1944, he unjustifiably and collectively condemns all 48 (actually 49) delegates of all nationalities of Kosovo for having committed an irredentist act of treason against the state. Without entering into an analysis of the fact that there never before has been such a total condemnation of the conference, but rather there has been harsh criticism of only one part of the conference's resolution which raised the problem of borders, it should be openly pointed out that this judgment of the delegate of the conference is contrary to the positions of the CPY Central Committee in a letter dated 28 March 1944 in which its overall evaluation of that conference and of the personnel in Kosovo was favorable, and it said: "In addition to persistence, loyalty and devotion and the successes you have achieved, you have also displayed shortcomings and errors." Even these errors and shortcomings are explained away in the letter in terms of the lack of direct contacts between the Kosovo and Metohija Regional Conference of the CPY and the CPY Central Committee, and not in terms of antiparty behavior. Accordingly, Dr I. Vukovic distorts the views of the CPY concerning the nationality question in Kosovo and Metohija.

It follows from what we have said that Dr I. Vukovic assumes great scientific, political and legal responsibility when he reproaches so irresponsibly all (to the last one, without exception) the delegates of the Bujan Conference, who included distinguished organizers of the National Liberation Struggle in Kosovo, a number of people's heroes and living legends of the National Liberation Struggle in Kosovo, as well as high government and political leaders and distinguished fighters in building self-management socialism and fighters for achievement of equality, brotherhood and unity of all our nationalities and ethnic minorities.

#### Irresponsible Derogations

It should be particularly emphasized that those delegates also included a majority of those who in 1945 organized the 2d Conference of the Kosovo and Metohija National Liberation Committee in Prizren, which corrected the error referred to concerning borders that was made at the Bujan Conference, resolutely rejected any partition of Yugoslavia and resolved on the basis of the expressed free will of the population of Kosovo and Metohija that this region be included in Federal Serbia and Federal Democratic Yugoslavia, a decision that was later sanctioned by the 3d AVNOJ Session and the AVNOS [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Serbia]. Thus within the CPY--LCY there

is no dispute that an error was made in connection with the question of borders between Yugoslavia and Albania in the resolution of the Bujan Conference, and the question of the conference in Bujan remains a matter for historical science to evaluate. From this standpoint any attempt to make a political issue of the mistaken view taken in that resolution is not only not in keeping with the further stabilization of the political and security situation in Kosovo, but in fact it serves the interests of the irredenta in Kosovo, the Stalinists in Albania, the profascist irredentists in the West and the anti-Tito forces within Yugoslavia.

4. The last, but a very important reason why I have so far refrained from entering into a dispute with Dr I. Vukovic is my fear that a fierce dialogue between us, in view of my opponent's unacceptable and untenable positions, could have adverse repercussions on the already problematical ethnic relations in Yugoslavia and in Kosovo especially. That is, I was afraid, and I am afraid even now, that the taking of controversial stands on the very delicate questions of interethnic relations in Kosovo by Dr I. Vukovic, who is a committed Yugoslav, and me as an Albanian, could have adverse consequences for the thinking of our young people in Yugoslavia and in Kosovo particularly, especially in that segment of young people who have not yet gained a familiarity with all the finesses and subtle processes of interethnic relations in our country.

All those dangers could, of course, be avoided if Dr I. Vukovic developed a true Leninist dialogue imbued with internationalism and Yugoslav socialist patriotism, along with insistence on respect and affirmation of the progressive forces of the nationality he is discussing. I have always been and remain ready for that kind of dialogue, but it is quite obvious in the views expressed by Dr I. Vukovic concerning my book that he is not ready, nor is he competent in terms of theory, to undertake that kind of fruitful discussion.

Yet after long reflection, and especially after the escalation of Dr I. Vukovic's attack on my book, I have nevertheless finally decided to answer him. I do this so that my silence will not give the reader the impression that I approve of his unjustified attack or as a sign that I do not have arguments to refute his unjustified charges.

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YUGOSLAVIA

FORTHCOMING CADRE CHANGES DISCUSSED

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16-17 Mar 85 p 3

[Article by Ivan Torov: "Waiting for the Big Change"]

[Text] "The change in coming 1986 has its own special attribute, its own particular characteristic. This is manifested in the fact that all the personnel from the revolution and the National Liberation War will for all practical purposes be giving up their active work when that change takes place."

These words of Veselin Djuranovic, chairman of the State Presidency of Yugoslavia, in a recent meeting of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee which discussed personnel policy, have aroused particular attention of the public as much because of the very fact of the departure of the personnel from the revolution as because of the warning that "that important change of generations makes it incumbent upon the League of Communists that it arrive at an overall conception of personnel policy and elaborate its views concerning that policy...."

So, next spring and summer, along with all the difficulties, troubles and efforts to swim more firmly into the waters of stabilization, Yugoslavia also has ahead of it a complete change of personnel, first in delegate and government structures at all levels, and somewhat later a change in party and other political structures as well. This time it is not the usual change in which some delegates and officials will replace others, but a farewell to the generation whose revolutionary spirit marked the entire period since the war, and many of its members even just before and during the armed revolution.

Renewal, But ...

In part because of the law of nature, in part because of the way the government is run both in the Federation and also in the republics and provinces, a sizable number of government officials, delegates and political officials will be leaving for a well-earned retirement and will be turning over their positions to new personnel, who will have to take on their back the future burden of the times and the situation in which the country finds itself and which it quite certainly will be facing in coming years as well.

Are we prepared and capable of that inevitable change of generations?

This question is often put, not without reason and good argument, since the departure of tens, hundreds or thousands of officials in government, delegate and political structures, regardless of the basis, or indeed a "regular" change of delegates in the very first months of next spring, will not mean a step forward unless those measures and actions are taken this year which will prevent that act from passing as something normal and customary and will make it possible for the departure from office and the arrival to take office to be a true renewal of personnel.

There are many preconditions which have to be fulfilled if the upcoming renewal of personnel is to take place in the way that this society needs. First of all, we are talking about the basic conception of personnel policy and also about the electoral system, which is an integral part of it. "The degree to which we take advantage of the lesson of our handling of personnel up to now," said Dr Ljubisav Markovic, for example, a few months ago in the SAWPY, "is quite crucial to our future. That is, the decisions on which people will take responsible posts are really decisions about the future."

Not so uncommonly, as the slogan says, "as our personnel policy goes, so goes our social situation." However depressing a picture this comparison offers about what and how much we have done, it contains a serious warning about how much we need even today, and tomorrow probably still more, a much more democratic personnel policy, a much more well-thought-out screening and selection of well-trained, able, decisive, uncompromising and above all younger personnel, whose vigor, knowledge and resourcefulness will certainly make up for the empty space which we ourselves have created in personnel policy, especially in recent years.

#### The Old Guards

The facts are indisputable: our bodies of leadership at all levels and in all social and political structures are rather elderly. Two examples are especially illustrative:

i. Among the 247 officials and key personnel in federal administrative agencies only 4 are under age 35. Those between 50 and 60 predominate--157. Some 22 officials have entered their seventh decade, and there are only a third as many between the ages of 35 and 40. There are 50 federal key men who are between the ages of 40 and 50.

ii. Recently the following figures were presented in the Montenegrin LC Central Committee on the very adverse age-specific composition of bodies of leadership in the republic. Among the members of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee elected at the 5th Congress of the Montenegrin LC, 48 percent were between the ages of 28 and 35. Today that percentage is barely 13. The average age at the 5th congress was 36, but at the 8th congress 44. The Presidium of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee was "old" at the 6th congress at the age of 40, but today it is 47 years old.

At the moment Montenegro also has the oldest Executive Council since the liberation. Half of the 20 members of the republic government are over the age of 51, and only 1 is under age 40. All nine members of the republic's State Presidency are over age 50, and there are some who are over age 60.

We have furnished these two examples, but the situation is certainly no better in the other republics and provinces, nor in other federal agencies and bodies, nor indeed in opstinas and in associated labor. What is obvious is the lengthy time interval since the war in which the responsible posts were mostly taken by the picked personnel with revolutionary experience and in which the emphasis was on the four previous positions listed in biographies, and usually training, competence and knowledge were in second or third place. How otherwise to interpret the fact that for years now many generations of trained people have either had a very difficult time finding employment, and many of them have even set off abroad in search of work. It is a fact that even today trained and highly qualified personnel make up a sizable portion of the unemployed.

The conclusions of the 16th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee, summing up the demands presented in a debate, herald a new course in this area when they emphasize that "ability and involvement, political-ideological commitment, past performance and moral attributes must be the decisive criteria of personnel policy and practice...."

At that same session Hamdija Pozderac, who presented the introductory address, rightly emphasized that a one-sided orientation in personnel development had led to an adverse concentration of specialists with a very narrow humanistic education in many bodies of political leadership as well as in government bodies and the economy. That is why today, he said, there are few personnel in bodies of political or other leadership who have political education and experience capable of drawing from the expansion of computerization, cybernetization and bionization real conclusions that have a bearing on the strategy and tactics of our revolution and on our equal inclusion in world development, in a race which is increasingly difficult and exhausting because of the stringency of the conditions and the pace imposed by those who are more developed than we are.

The Federal Executive Council, referring precisely to the data already mentioned on the age-specific composition of officials in federal bodies and agencies, announced last year an essentially different course in personnel policy and a predominant reliance on younger and educated personnel. Which is why Boro Denkov, member of the Federal Executive Council, has said that there must be no exceptions whatsoever in applying the legal regulation on retirement.

#### Theses Concerning Indispensability

What is extremely important to the further democratization of personnel policy today, and what has been an expressed demand in the partywide debate that has taken place, is to put an end to the monopoly which the political factor in society continues to have over personnel policy. The demand is for domination

of the working class interest, in which associated labor would have the decisive role in personnel selection. The demand is to eliminate influence in the decisionmaking of small informal groups and a shrinking of the powers of various commissions, coordinating bodies and the like. What we need, it is stressed in many themes in the public debate--is to have confidence in the ability of the producers to choose on their own quality people who are well-trained, who are prepared in terms of political ideology and who are devoted to self-management, which is not to deny parity or any sort of "quota," but rather that they be kept within the limits which are necessary to this society and which will not be detrimental to an authentic and democratic personnel policy.

Personnel policy should be pushed down into the base by the efforts which are under way. This will frustrate the personnel merry-go-rounds, the absolutized political professionalism, the flight from production, the survival of those personnel who fail tests every day, especially when it comes to carrying out the Stabilization Program.

The time that remains up to the "great personnel renewal" (as the year 1986 has recently been pictured) should be used for creation of the conditions for an essentially different personnel policy in which the personnel from the revolution and all other officials must not be replaced by bureaucratized groups and individuals or those who--in the name of preserving the present monopoly--are constantly launching theses to the effect that this society does not have enough able and well-trained people for all the positions in both the delegate system and also in politics. These theses obviously play into the hands of those individuals for whom official power is "dear to their heart and soul" and who are convinced that they are "the only ones called upon to lead the revolution," which without them would certainly come to ruin.

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YUGOSLAVIA

TANJUG REPORTS SAWP PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE IN NOVI SAD

LD262231 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1349 GMT 26 Mar 85

[Summary] Novi Sad, 26 Mar (TANJUG)--The provincial conference of the Vojvodina SAWP met in Novi Sad today to discuss further consolidation of basic and municipal SAWP organizations for direct action in the spirit of the general party discussion and conclusions of the 16th session of the LCY Central Committee.

"The conference made a favorable assessment of the present results of the All in Defense and Protection action which has been organized in this province for 5 years already. In the context of these activities, said Zsivan Svircevic, we must work harder than before on unmasking the internal enemy, especially by training our working people and citizens to become involved in social self-protection. He drew attention to the fact that activity from nationalistic positions represented a special social danger because all enemy forces in our country have the object in view of provoking and aggravating national differences, reckoning as they do that this is the weak link in our sociopolitical system and having judged that this is the way to wreck and bring down the system established by the SFRY constitution. The church is trying to foist itself as a partner in the solution of current social problems, in which context the position of the church is used for political ends. Bureaucratic and dogmatic forces are concentrating their activity on creating the illusion that statist and administrative strong arm interventions are required.

The observance of the 40th anniversary of the liberation and of victory over fascism, according to Ida Sabo, must be worthy of the magnificent struggle of the Yugoslav nations and nationalities. This is an opportunity for reminding ourselves and to remind others too, how dearly was our freedom paid for, that over 300,000 men lay down their lives and that 1.7 million Yugoslavs lost their lives in this bloody drama. We are proud, she added, that no one has given us the gift of freedom because we won it ourselves."

Ida Sabo said that attempts have been made to belittle our contribution to victory. "For this reason, and not for this reason alone, we must mark this anniversary extensively and in a dignified way, to remind the world of truth. This is our debt towards those who have laid down their lives for freedom. This is also our debt to the young people so that they should not be lead astray by assorted enemies, the nationalists, and that they may be proud of the past of our nations and nationalities. The revolution goes on and it is the young people who carry it on."

24 April 1985

YUGOSLAVIA

## MACEDONIAN CONTRIBUTION TO TERRITORIAL DEFENSE PRAISED

LD290415 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2047 GMT 27 Mar 85

[Text] Skopje, 27 Mar (TANJUG)--By their motivation, attendance at exercises, other activities, and their overall attitude to their tasks, members of the territorial defense in the SR of Macedonia have contributed to the sound and stable moral-political situation in the republic. This has had a positive effect on the combat-readiness of this component of our armed forces, which is also one of the basic components of our system of all-people's defense.

This was stated today at the session of the Macedonian LC Central Committee Commission for all-people's defense and social self-protection. The session, presided over by Tihomir Sarevski, discussed some aspects of the last year's moral-political situation in territorial defense in the SR of Macedonia.

The discussion also touched upon the organization and implementation of the "All for Defense and Protection-84" mass social-political action. It was stressed that the action made a significant contribution to the development of self-protection and help to find solutions to some economic problems.

This year's guidelines for the "All for Defense and Protection" action will prepare all those who take part in it for defense in case of aggression and for the struggle against all the manifestations and behavior opposing the policy of the LC and the development of socialist self-management.

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YUGOSLAVIA

BULGARIA'S CLAIM OF ETHNIC PURITY TERMED SHOCKING

AU030855 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Mar 85 p 3

[Dragoslav Rancic commentary: "Assimilation as Policy"]

[Text] The gloomy information from Bulgaria, however shocking it may be from the viewpoint of international law, history, politics, and ideology, has, unfortunately, to be taken seriously: In the name of a chauvinist project of progress, creating a "unified socialist nation," and the self-praising strengthening the "forward line" of the Warsaw Pact in the Balkans, an assimilation action is underway that is without precedent in socialism since Stalin moved the Crimean Tartars.

Stanko Todorov's words that "there are no parts of other peoples and nations" in Bulgaria, there is only one monolithic Bulgarian nation, and that one sizeable national community--in this case the Turkish one--will be dispersed throughout the country and assimilated after it is Bulgarianized by means of a name change, represents a public challenge to the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act, the principles of international law, and--if one is talking about ideological precedence--Lenin's postulates on the national question. If those words from Bulgarian soil itself create any historical associations, then they are associations of imperial times.

It is strange that the assimilation of at least one-tenth of the Bulgarian population, among which there are Macedonians as well, is being justified by the need to strengthen the forward Bulgarian stronghold in the Balkans as a constituent part of the Warsaw Pact. We did not know that Bulgaria, which also talks about turning the Balkans into a zone of peace and cooperation, has been authorized by the Warsaw Pact to protect its "forward line" at the cost of annoying some of its neighbors and violating the principle on the rights of national minorities that the Warsaw Pact member countries themselves want to obey.

If what is involved was arbitrarily taking up the strategic position described in such a way, Bulgaria will find itself facing a doubly complex task: to explain this outdated vocabulary to its allies, among which there are many friends of Yugoslavia, Greece, and Turkey, and at the same time, to convince its neighbors that it is possible to cherish good-neighborly relations while ignoring basic principles of international law.

The very idea of creating an ethnically pure nation within the state borders of a country is also shocking for the whole of Europe.

The continent of small and often multinational countries, or countries with national minorities and ethnic communities, has bitter memories from the last two great wars regarding the creation of unified "pure" nations. At a time when the continent intends to make the minorities bridges and links for getting to know each other better and for peaceful cooperation between countries, and when it considers this its cultural wealth, this Bulgarian step ridicules European civilization, to which the Bulgarians themselves belong with the 13 centuries of existence and activity in Europe and the Balkans that they insist on. It would have been a strange looking Europe and Balkans had they let themselves be guided by this Bulgarian vision of progress.

Of course, we can always say that what is involved is simply disregard for reality and a strange kind of historical complex, for the one who fails to recognize the identity and values of other nations in its community has little respect for its own people as well, whatever the big illusions it feeds them with.

However, this cruel act of assimilation of minority nations whose mother nations are in neighboring countries, with which Bulgaria wants to live in friendship, also has international implications. If one mentions here also the "forward line" of the Warsaw Pact in the Balkans, this act is full of threats against the security of this part of Europe. Towards whom is this line "put forward"? And how far could it be "put forward"?

CSO: 2800/277

YUGOSLAVIA

SFRY ASSEMBLY INTERNAL POLICY COMMITTEE MEETS

LD022036 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1159 GMT 2 Apr 85

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Apr (TANJUG)---Proper assessments have been made previously of the implementation of the constitution and the law, but they have not been accompanied by the corresponding measures. Stana Djukic-Delevic, a Constitutional Court judge, stressed at a session of the Committee for Internal Policy of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly today that difficulties are being experienced in implementing the constitution and the law not only in the sphere of legal regulations but also in everyday behavior. The latter, combined with the provisions of certain laws, have created favorable conditions for unconstitutional phenomena. The majority of delegates, however, held the view that changes in certain laws are necessary in order thus to be able to use legal regulations to prevent phenomena leading to violations of the constitution and the law. Stress was also laid on the need to establish concrete responsibility in all cases of any kind of attack on the constitution and the law.

During the session, delegates in the Committee for International Policy asked for information on the demolition of stores owned by ethnic Albanians in Belgrade and other parts of the country. This information should be prepared for the next session of the committee.

Delegates were also briefed on the forthcoming trials in Osijek, Varazdin and Zagreb of 23 members of the extreme Ustasha group known as Hrvatsko Borbeno Zajednistvo. This group is active within the framework of Hrvatski Drzavotvorni Pokret, an extremist Ustasha organization in Stuttgart. Its members were arrested due to the internal affairs organs' successful action in the country while preparing terrorist-subversive actions on the territory of Yugoslavia.

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24 April 1985

## YUGOSLAVIA

## BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA COMMISSION ASSESSES PEOPLE'S DEFENSE

LD032344 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1415 GMT 3 Apr 85

[Text] Sarajevo, 3 Apr (TANJUG)---The moral-political situation and political unity in territorial defense, civil protection, reserve militia, communication units, the intelligence and reconnaissance service and in the war units of the Yugoslav People's Army in Bosnia-Herzegovina has on the whole been positive and good last year and this had made the successful implementation of their constitutional function and tasks possible. This is the assessment of the session today of the Bosnia-Herzegovina LC Central Committee Commission for all-people's defense and social self-protection.

This is a result, above all, of the constant attention which the LC says to the development of these significant components of the system of all-people's defense and social self-protection and an expression of the readiness of the working people and citizens to commit themselves responsibly to the tasks of defense and security.

The internal political security situation is marked by the exceptional commitment of the working class and all working people and citizens, led by the League of Communists, to the further development and consolidation of socialist self-management. Significant results are achieved in strengthening the LC unity in the more resolute combatting of activity in the internal enemy, in particular by the reactionary section of the clergy, dogmatic-bureaucratic structures, anarcho-liberals as well as by perpetrators of criminal acts who by various forms of usurpation or of threat to social property inflict considerable material damage on society.

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YUGOSLAVIA

VETERANS' WEEKLY CRITICIZES BULGARIAN AUTHOR, BOOK

AU271115 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1323 GMT 25 Mar 85

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Mar (TANJUG)--Venko Markovski, the holder of Bulgaria's highest awards and ranked by official Sofia among the greats of Bulgarian literature, is a man whose life is devoted to "serving the aims of Greater-Bulgarian nationalism, chauvinism and Bulgarian expansionist policy, filled with immeasurable hate towards the Macedonian people, the people to which he himself used to belong and, of his own choosing, no longer does." The newspaper of the Yugoslav Veterans' Federation, 4 JULI, [spelling as received] writes today.

The article is written on the occasion of Markovski's latest book "Coli Otok--Otok Smrti" (Coli Otok Island--Island of Death).

"Negating everything valued by all those wishing to live in peace and friendship and striving for good-neighborly relations, official Bulgaria once again elaborates on its old theses, accusing Yugoslavia, through Markovski's book, for the ills which Bulgaria itself, although it was not alone therein, inflicted on us not so long ago, during the Cominform period," stresses 4 JULI in its comment on Markovski's book.

The Yugoslav veterans' newspaper underlines that the book is prefaced by a leader of the Ustasha terrorist emigration, Mate Mestrovic, which points to the fact that Bulgaria has not given up the well-known and once already failed plan of rallying, organizing and directing all the enemies of Yugoslavia, all those who stubbornly strive for a world without Yugoslavia as it is today, and without the Macedonian people in it.

"All this is neither new nor unfamiliar," concludes 4 JULI, adding that "traitors are still being used and rewarded today, those terrorists and turn-coats whose policy in Yugoslavia during the Second World War can be measured by thousands of dead men, women and children."

Major publicity has been given over the past few days in Bulgaria to the marketing of Venko Markovski's 70th birthday. Personal felicitations were sent to him by the Bulgarian state and party leader Todor Zhivkov.

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YUGOSLAVIA

LCY WEEKLY AIRS POLEMICS WITH ECONOMIC JOURNAL

[Editorial Report] An article in the 8 March 1985 issue of the Belgrade edition of KOMUNIST, page 21, titled "Forward--Into the Past" criticizes the views expressed in the column "Viewpoint" which has been appearing for two and a half months in the Belgrade liberal economic weekly EKONOMSKA POLITIKA. Vladimir Slijepcevic, the KOMUNIST writer known for radical anti-IMF and anti-West statements in KOMUNIST last year, attacks EKONOMSKA POLITIKA staff writer Vladimir Gligorov for allegedly favoring "eliminating associated labor, privatizing social property, and pluralizing ideology." Slijepcevic cites disapprovingly one article on "equality" which says: "Social ownership does not eliminate inequality which everyone who is unemployed knows.... [It] does not eliminate [social] differences which everyone knows who has put himself in a superior position. Nevertheless, social property leaves the impression that it is more accessible to us, that it makes us equal." Slijepcevic says the article conveys the message that the inequalities of private property are more justified than the privileges conferred by social property.

In Gligorov's article on surplus labor, Slijepcevic sees the "message" that socialism which was established to achieve the interests of the working class must be changed into a "law of the invisible hand", or into "the liberal capitalism of the 18th and early 19th centuries in order to enable the goals of other classes to be achieved."

In the article on associated labor, Slijepcevic sees the search for something to replace the concept and system of associated labor, and in the piece on self-management interests, the view that true pluralism of self-management interests requires a multi-party political system. Slijepcevic accuses Gligorov of wanting to replace the present "income" system as the goal of production with a system based on profit; and ask, in general, why EKONOMSKA POLITIKA is publishing "these private views".

The Belgrade edition of KOMUNIST in its 22 March 1985 issue, page 20, has given equal space to a rebuttal by Gligorov and the EKONOMSKA POLITIKA editorial board.

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YUGOSLAVIA

#### PARTY WEEKLY SEEN AS REFLECTION OF LCY DISUNITY

[Editorial Report] An article in the 26 March 1985 issue of DANAS, Zagreb, pages 20-22, says that the nine editions (the ninth edition being the so-called joint edition) of the LCY weekly, KOMUNIST, publish the particular views and special interests of the republics and provinces where they are published, and at the same time reflect a lack of power and "the difficulties in opening up the paper which should be an instrument in the struggle for program goals and LC policy".

The Commission for Information in the Croatian party has reportedly concluded that KOMUNIST not only does not fulfill its role of mobilizing party action but even "reproduces and increases ideological confusion.... The major problem of KOMUNIST is its wide diversity of ideological views on strategic questions of socio-political development. It is a question here of an 'umbilical' connection by the editors with forums and individuals in their republics and provinces, [such that] it in fact polemicizes mostly with itself." The Croatian LC commission materials shows, it said, many examples of mutual confrontation of views which seriously "call into question the ideological-political unity of the LC".

Views on the long-term program of economic stabilization and the political system "have been real centers of open and hidden polemics between journalists and editors of the paper[s]". The Croatian LC commission criticized the lack of clear and firm criteria for a unified editorial policy, and maintained that the Zagreb edition of KOMUNIST in the polemics of the stabilization program reflects the continuity with party documents, while "others break with these decrees". Disputes on these questions came to a head, it said, after the Zagreb meeting in November 1984 when Stipe Suvar said that the economic stabilization program was not a strategic document but a collection of "fire-fighting measures". This view was then both defended and attacked, and polemics were waged also over the assessment of the 1965 economic reform. "For some [editions] the Long-Term Program has been like a reform which has fallen under the pressure of leftists and demagogical leftist phraseology. For others the reform has ended up in a techno-bureaucratic blind-alley and as a result the goal of strengthening the material bases of self-management has not been achieved." The latter view reflects that of the Zagreb edition, it said.

Opposing views on the causes of the crisis are also evident, the article noted, with some saying that the guidelines of the 1974 Constitution and Law on Associated Labor have not been fulfilled and others saying that the system as established in these documents has led us into the present situation. A characteristic example of the latter view, not published in the Croatian and Vojvodina editions, it said, was Dragoje Zarkovic's statement that "we are ideological hostages of the best system in the world which has led us into a crisis."

Polemics have also erupted over who should lose their positions. "Some journalists said that this is a question of the more developed republics and province guarding their monopolies, while others say it is the states and bureaucracy which are detrimental to the economy and should be divested of their power." A third view asserts that outside centers of power arising from the link between technocracy and bureaucracy and damaging to the working class should be eliminated.

Conflicts of opinion are reflected on concrete issues such as the rate of exchange, real interests rates, the foreign exchange system and foreign exchange market, while the role of the IMF is being constantly reevaluated, it said. "Some editorial boards have very specific and recognized views on these questions, others are divided and two different views exist at the same time, while there are also editorial boards which have no relation toward the views [on these questions]." According to the Croatian analysis, the most frequent conflicts on these questions arise between the Croatian edition, on the one hand, and the Serbian and joint edition, on the other. "Some articles written in the Croatian edition are considered a direct attack on the long-term stabilization program." At a meeting of the Serbian LC commission for information, Miroslav Vitorovic reportedly enumerated concrete examples from the Zagreb edition which were "explicitly against the stabilization program and which supported the anti-market voluntarist consciousness of the so-called income economy."

Very different views have also been expressed on the book "System and Crisis" by Jovan Miric. The Croatian edition did not publish the article in which critics of the book were attacked "in the name of dialogue", while other editions did not include the Zagreb outline of the same discussion.

The Croatian edition has warned that the big uproar over the political system has caused confusion in the working class and that the federal-republic-provincial party functionaries are responsible for this.

The article concluded by noting, in contrast to this, the statement by Momcilo Baljak of the Serbian LC Presidium that differing views in KOMUNIST can play a positive role if they contribute toward the search for better solutions in economic and political practice. "We are freeing ourselves more from the fear of differences in society and in the LC, from that psychology which sees every difference as undesirable and threatening to party unity." We have often encountered this dogmatic view in our political practice, he said; "we have nourished in some debates the illusion of some

abstract monolithism in the LCY, and remained blind to those parts of social practice which were opposed to this orientation, and which have divided us according to an etatistic-bureaucratic logic. We do not ask from our press or from KOMUNIST that it unite us simply by stressing the large and lasting principles of our revolution but that it openly and courageously face the differences which life brings."

BORBA (Belgarde) of 12 March 1985, page 3, reflecting this view, reports that the information commission of the Serbian LC Presidium has concluded that the Serbian edition of KOMUNIST has "clearly moved in the last few months toward a more attractive and engaged publication desired by the party membership." The new editor, Dr Zivorad Djordjevic, said that KOMUNIST must free itself from generalized, neutral, and impoverished articles without a message or ideas; it must openly write about the dilemmas and contradictions, and while seeking agreement, must not ignore the difficulties in finding it.

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## BRIEFS

PLO'S QADDUMI ARRIVES--Belgrade, 3 Apr (TANJUG)--Faruq Qaddumi, head of the PLO Executive Committee's Political Department, arrived in Yugoslavia this afternoon for a working visit at the invitation of Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1645 GMT 3 Apr 85 LD]

BORDER CROSSING TAX DROPPED--Belgrade, 3 Apr (TANJUG)--Yugoslavia will not pay one thousand dinar (about 4 U.S. dollars) tax for every crossing of the border. The Federal Ministry of Finance stated in its announcement today it does not intend to propose introduction of this tax. This measure was earlier unofficially announced as a fiscal measure for partly covering losses caused in past years by the speedy devaluation of the national currency-dinar. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1547 GMT 3 Apr 85 LD]

LCY PRESIDIUM SESSION ATTENDANCE--Belgrade Television Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1830 GMT on 5 February carried a 1-minute video report on the session of the LCY Presidium under the chairmanship of Ali Sukrija, which on that day discussed the implementation of conclusions on collective work and responsibility. The report shows that the Presidium did not meet in its usual hall with its usual round table. Instead, the members are seen sitting at both sides of long straight tables, and they are not keeping to the usual groups by republics and provinces. Ali Sukrija, Dimce Belovski, Ivan Stambolic, Petar Matic, and Miljan Radovic can be recognized along one side of a table; Hamdija Pozderac sits next to France Popit, and Mitja Ribicic next to Dragoslav Markovic. Others that can be recognized as attending are Dobrivoje Vidic, Trpe Jakovlevski, Mika Spiljak, Jure Bilic, and Georgije Jovicic. [Editorial Report]

LAKTASI OFFICIAL DISMISSED--Laktasi, 2 Apr (TANJUG)--Delegates of all the three chambers of the Laktasi Municipal Assembly at their joint session today relieved Branko Vucic, president of the Executive Committee, and in his place appointed Radovan Bobic. The dismissal is the result of an inquiry conducted by a working group into the responsibility of some Laktasi officials concerning the granting of housing credits and housing, in particular to Milorad Milionovic, former head of the Municipal Assembly's joint affairs service. This also represents a violation of the decision of sociopolitical organizations about a temporary ban on cadre apartments and credits until necessary criteria have been established. Dusan Knezevic, secretary of the Municipal Assembly, also bears part of the blame for this violation. Milan Brkic and Savo Tepavcevic, who are also Laktasi officials, are also mentioned in this context. [Summary] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1419 GMT 2 Apr 85 LD]

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